

NATURE AND BASES OF DACOITY SYSTEM  
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO DACOITS INFESTED  
REGIONS OF UTTAR PRADESH

A THESIS  
SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE  
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Doctor of Philosophy  
IN  
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- C E R T I F I C A T E -

This is to certify that the thesis entitled  
" NATURE AND BASES OF DAGOITY SYSTEM : WITH SPECIAL  
REFERENCE TO DAGOITS INFESTED REGIONS OF UTTAR PRADESH "  
submitted by Mr. H.C. Jain in partial fulfilment of the  
degree of Doctor of Philosophy to the Bundelkhand University,  
Jhansi (U.P.) is a record of bonafide research work carried  
out by him under my supervision and guidance for the last  
three years . The results embodied in the thesis have not  
been previously submitted to this or any other University  
for the award of any degree or diploma .

This is also certified that Mr. Jain recorded his  
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## CHAPTER I

### **INTRODUCTION**

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## INTRODUCTION

Knavery, skuldgery, cheating, unfairness, crime, sneakiness, corruption, graft, dishonesty, in short deviance-in one shape or another exist everywhere in human society - large or small, progressive or stagnant. Yet there is no gainsaying that the pattern of dacoity in India where a large number of organised gangs have operated for centuries, has no parallel. Discrete cases of robbery and even dacoity may be seen almost everywhere even now, but a number of gangs disturbing and paralysing the entire civil life is a phenomenon peculiar to central India.

Decoits have been terrorising, plundering, killing people over decades. Even the dawn of the independence could not bring any major relief to the people in rural area of Uttar-Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan. These brigands do not only violate the law or become a threat to the well being of the society but also to the individual liberty as well as social peace. Besides a number of atrocities committed by them, the incidence of mass murders have opened the new dimension of savage display of cruelty.

The Police organisation that was constituted in 1861 A.D. was never faced with such a challenging situation especially in Uttar Pradesh before the massacre of Behmai (14th Feb. 1981). Where the prestige of both-the State Government as well as the Police Department was at stake. The incidence led to a flood of similiar mass-murders. Despite the dissolution of the then cabinet and transfer of top Police Officials,

the law and order situation continued to deteriorate in Uttar-Pradesh.<sup>1</sup> It resulted in the gunning down of 12 Ahirs at Jaymai, 11 Marjans at Badanpur, 5 Thakurs at Jakh, 9 Yadavas at Khiiriya, 12 Thakurs at Pakirpur, 9 Lodhi and Kachhis at Jarelia, 24 Jatavas at Deoli and 7 Policemen at Nagalareda. These sequential incidences added a new chapter in the history of dacoity.<sup>2</sup> In the mass slaughters the dacoits ransacked the whole villages and left behind a gory trail of mass murders. It is vastly more devastating in the effect to create a feeling in the minds of rural people that the law is merely a paper tiger and the Government is merely an organisation in words. The dacoit chieftains establish their own code of law over a specific area, create conditions of awe and terror by swooping down to loot, murder and kidnap individuals for ransom.

In the recent past Chambal and Bundelkhand regions have been widely known for the perennial problem, but recently it progressed to monstrous proportions in some districts of Uttar Pradesh. Among the dacoits infested regions of Uttar-Pradesh, the Doab and the Bundelkhand regions are equally crime prone. Agra, Etah, Mainpuri, Etawah, Farrukhabad from Doab and Jalaun and Sanda from Bundelkhand have always been terrorized by the dreaded dacoits. From Kanpur to Etawah there is a long strip on both the sides of the river Yamuna which is permanently dacoits infested. The dacoits gangs take shelter

1. Dinman, pp. 20-24, ( 11-17 July 1982, New Delhi ).

2. Dharmyug, p. 15 ( 30 May, 1982, New Delhi ).

in the ravines which are found on both the sides of the Yamuna river. This dacoits infested range covers Jaulaun and Banda also. It is very difficult to trace and track down these gangs as they find easy hide-out in the forests and ravines of this strip.

Besides shooting, killing and arresting the thousands of dacoits, the polv of surrender could not check the germination of new dacoit gangs. The policy of surrender is a contractual polv in the hands of Government and the under world for shared benefits. Obviously, it may be concluded whether these violent and non violent measures of resistance were not successful in putting stop to dacoities and robberies. In spite of all such concerted coercive measures the institution has persisted in pockets. They failed to attain their objectives mainly due to the fact that no social stigma was attached to dacoits and robbers.

Present developments in the experimental non violent measures for the control of the menace show that unless the structural and moral framework of society undergoes a radical change, surrender or any such innovation will not bear any fruit. A close analysis of these incidances reveals certain striking facts. It is not a simple generalisation as to how dacoity has come to be a part of the rural life in these dacoits infested regions. But dacoity, as we shall analyse, is not a manifestation of individual characteristics - biological or psychological. Dacoity is the product of a multiplicity of factors that produce and perpetuate the problem in rural society

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of India. Social factors play a determining role in the existence of dacoity system in these areas.

Dacoity is not mere a law and order problem, it has more to do with our administrative system, approaches to crime, the kind of corruption and social inequality that prevails at various levels. In this regards it is a point to think as to what are the bases of survival or long continuance of the problem in these regions.

There are two perspectives to study the problem, one relating to the system and the other to the individual. Actually these are two interrelated view points as they afford a coherent and complete understanding of the problem. The guiding idea and connecting thread in the study is the conviction that such deviation from accepted social norm is not a product of mental deficiency, of psychosis, or other form of personal and Psychic aberration but rather it has social roots and is caused by social conditions.

As we will see in the ensuing chapters that there are three major bases of dacoity - the ecological, the historical and the Socio-cultural. It is undeniable that the valley of Chambal and the forest of Bundelkhand provide good hideouts and shelters for the fugitives of law, mostly the victims of injustice and oppressive system of society but it is the institutional net work of society at different levels that lead people to split in to factions and break into conflicts and tension. System of dacoity, infact, derives its strength and support from the larger social system. Without social succur

the system of dacoity can not survive. There is a regular feed back of people and other facilities from the broader social system acting as host.

To analyse the problem in right perspective, we have to study the socio-economic and cultural matrix with historical background of the problem in these dacoits infested regions. Any way, it is undeniable that structural factors play largely a dominant role. So long as these factors persist in a society, the dacoity will continue to flourish. The basic assumption implied here is that dacoity is a systemic product which has grown to its present institutional form through a long historical process. Briefly, then the system of dacoity is governed by some general laws that relate to the general structure of society.

A social problem does not exist in society unless it is recognized by the people. Societal recognition gives birth to a social problem. But it is the problem that moves along with its course and not die aborning, it must acquire social legitimacy. It may seem strange to speak of social problem having to become legitimated yet after gaining initial recognition a social problem must acquire social endorsement if it is to be taken seriously and move forward in its career. It must acquire a necessary degree of respectability which entitles it to consideration in the recognized arenas of public discussion.<sup>1</sup>

We have scarcely a few studies and pitifully limited

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1. Social Problems : (1971), Official Journal of the Society for the Study of Social Problems. Vol. 18 No. 3.p.302  
Notre Dame, Indiana, 46556.

knowledge of such relevant matters as the following: the role of judiciary in getting recognition for a problem, the role of violence, the play of interest groups and other interest groups who foresee material gains by elevating a given condition to a problem, the role of political figures and the role of powerful organisations.<sup>1</sup>

#### OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The present work attempts to analyse the nature and bases of dacoity system. In this regards the present study tends to highlight the following objectives:

1. To analyse the dacoity system as a form of organised and institutionalized crime.
2. To study the historical background of the problem.
3. To analyse the socio-cultural conditions and establishment of the linkages between the society and dacoity system.

Persuant to be the above ends, a secondary objective of this research is to elicit facts upon which administrators and reformist may base their future policies.

#### EXTANT LITERATURE

There are various forms of violent and organized crime. These have been studied by different social scientists in some context or other. Edwin M. Lemert (1991), Marshall B.

1. Ibid..... p. 301.

Clinard (1963) and Robert K. Merton and Robert A. Misbet (1966) - the three text books are generally introduction to the field of "Social Problem" or "Social Disorganization," which is broader than deviant behaviour as we understand here. Crime and juvenile delinquency, on the other hand, are not so broad as deviant behaviour; however, a large part of deviant theory has its origins in criminology. Edwin H. Sutherland and Donald R. Cressey (1960) and Richard R. Korn and Lloyd W. Mc. Corkle (1959), these two good text books represent the knowledge of criminology. Useful readers in this are Norman Johnston, Leonard Savitz and Marvin E. Wolfgang (1962), Gus Tyler (1962) and Sheldon Glueck (1959).

The following present or appraise theories and concepts applicable to a wide spectrum of deviant behaviour: Talcott Parsons (1951), Albert K. Cohen (1970), Harry and N. Johnson (1960), Judith Blaue and K. Davis (1964), and Edwin M. Schur (1965). The major works of anomie tradition are given by Emile Durkheim (1951), Robert K. Merton (1957), Richard A. Gloward and Lloyd Z. Ohlin (1960) and Marshal B. Clinard (ed.) in 1964.

The classics of the Chicago tradition are William I Thomas and Florin Znaniechi (1936) and George Herbert Mead (1934). The latter does not deal specifically with deviance but it is the leading source of modern ideas on role theory and the self. Important contemporary works are those of Erving Goffman (1963) and Howard S. Becker (1961) and see also Frank Tannenbaum (1938) and Alfred R. Lindsmith (1947). For leading works in cultural transmission stream of the Chicago tradition,

see references to Shaw and McKay, Sutherland and Cressey on pp. 94-97 of this volume.

Studies on juvenile delinquency that have general import for deviance theory are Albert K. Cohen (1955), Walter B. Millar (1958), James F. Short Jr. and Fred L. Stradtbeck (1955) and David Matza (1964).

Theories emphasizing internal controls mechanism of defense, personal pathology and internal conflicts are illustrated by Franz Alexander and Hugo L. Staub (1956), William Healy and Augusto P. Bronner (1938), Albert Bandura and Richard H. Walters (1959). Most of the work cited on these pages deal at length with social aspect of deviant behaviour.

Although, the dacoity is within the ambit of law and order, it is a sociological problem and can be studied socio-logically. To stimulate research efforts, some of the theoretical postulates having some relevance to the present problem, may well be mentioned.

In this classification, dacoity is one which is fairly widespread in the states of central India. Many books have been written in Hindi and English but mostly they are fictional, biographical and Journalistic in nature and fail to analyse the problem scientifically. There are some master piece works that are descriptive and journalistic in nature. Among Bhaduri (1972), Gupta (1972), Tamanna (1972) the autobiographical sketches written Bhaduri are based on real investigation and search. Although these publications provide us much useful insight into the problem, their objective reliability is not to be said

sufficiently. Moreover, their focus is on the story and they do not pursue the subject objectively for an indepth or precise study. Similarly, Kapoor's study 'Badman of Badlands, (1960), Rao's 'The Facets of Crime in India' (1967) are of limited value from our point of view. Then, there are the studies which approach the problem scientifically:

Garg's study 'Dacoity Problem in Chambal Valley': published in 1965. It is an exploratory work which while analysing the structural elements adopts a micro approach to the problem of dacoity. The researcher emphasises on anthropological observation, case studies and utilises secondary data to shape its frame. Its conclusions are that caste rivalries, property disputes, village feuds and an unjust police administration contribute to the prevalence of dacoity in the area of Chambal.

Katara's work 'Pattern of Dacoity in M.P.' (1972), can also be counted among good initial efforts to the study of the problem. He examines the spatial and temporal pattern of dacoity and brought out some of the salient features of the organisation and activities of the dacoit gangs. Like previous researcher, he too concludes some causative factors, but both of them fail to synthesise and condense the concluded material in any meaningful frame work.

Tomar in his doctoral thesis 'Family Problems of Long Term Prisoners From the Chambal Valley (1973), succeeds in bringing out family problems of long term prisoners. In this descriptive study he extracted some relevant informations about criminals

including dacoits.

Khan's study & The Salient Aspects of the Problem of Dacoity in Chambal Valley (1973)\* can be counted the first among good works. In this doctoral thesis he geared his efforts to understand the problem systematically and presented some ecological and socio-cultural considerations responsible for the problem. He also highlighted the process of dacoit gang formation including some case studies of major dacoits and dacoit gangs. But like other he too failed to diagonalise the basic causal factors of dacoity in Chambal region. He explained the problem in terms of 'dacoity proneness' based on the popular myth that the Chambal region belong certain sub-cultural characteristics that naturally instill dacoity proneness among the inhabitants of Chambal. Actually the basic draw back of this study is that it neglects the historical base of the problem. Dacoity proneness is the out-come of those historical and socio-cultural conditions which have been prevailing for centuries.

The Chambal Valley Project (1976), as study conducted by the Indore School of Social Work, is a comparatively larger undertaking in which a number of investigators and research officials were engaged. It covers a larger area under study and along with dacoity, it studies the problem of victimised families too. Its basic aim was to furnish the findings about immediate problems of such families to the Government. But side by side it provides relevant and useful material for research purpose too. The problem of the families of the dacoits of liabilities increased, decreased or unaltered with respect to the two periods

before and after the surrender. Thus, it gives a more comprehensive, precise and compact analysis in to the problem.

Socio-economic Development of A Dacoit Affected Area in Chambal Valley, published by Avard, New Delhi (1976) is a survey work which attempts to bring forth the socio-economic resources especially of selected area 'Johra Block' in Morena District (M.P.). It presents the possibilities of their exploitation to meet the demand for rehabilitation in this area. This study is basically a survey report and is purely confined to the economic opportunities that can be created to rehabilitate the families of former dacoits. In our view, the report does not provide any significant insight into the problem from causative point of view of dacoity.

Singh's study 'Victims of Deceit gang in Chambal Valley (1979).

In this doctoral thesis the researcher discusses the issues relating to victimisation. He presents the circumstances and situations in which dacoit gangs operate.

Zatar & Khan's 'The Problem of Dacoity in Bundelkhand and the Chambal Valley (1980), is an introductory piece of work, which provides a comparative setting of the two regions with the retrospect. Both the learned scientists put the menace of dacoits, widely. They also outlined some antidacoity efforts and the panorama of surrendered dacoits.

Singh's study 'Terror to Reform' (1980), certainly venture to deviate in intent and orientation from earlier studies of the problem. The researcher unreveals the complexities of the

dacoity system fairly and fully. The analysis of life in open prisons has succeeded in making the whole effort with wide understanding as it also deals with discrepancies between goals and the actuality of open prisons. This study is based on the rehabilitation of the surrendered dacoits of M.P. in, 1972.

#### NEED FOR THE STUDY

Most studies lack a sociological frame work. The few do not, are insular and confine themselves to one aspect of another. The scholar dealt only with those factors or conditions which make a man an outlaw and ignore the rest of the processes before he adopts dacoity as like style. To fill up this gap the present work follows a sociological perspective, approaches and method.

A number of studies conducted in the regions of Chambal and Bundelkhand in M.P. but Bundelkhand and Doab regions of Uttar Pradesh have been neglected by and large by the scholars. Here, I would like to mention that dacoity menace in the area of Chambal has been controlled to some extent in Madhya Pradesh but it has rapidly curbed in some districts of Uttar Pradesh. That is why the Government of Uttar Pradesh has to declare these districts as dacoits infested under an ordinance, dated 22 October 1981.

In recent time this issue has not only created law and order problem, but has raised many issues as regards to the

reorganisation of village's Socio-economic and political structure. Thus the recent development of dacoity in Doab region which is neither backward nor remote as compared to Chambal region of Madhya Pradesh, has led to take up a new perspective. Hence, we concentrate upon this newly dacoits infestes area of study for research purpose as compared to the Bundelkhand or Chambal.

The present study also differs from all previous scholars for the following reasons:

1. In the past, scholars made some glimpses of historical events but did not present the historical changes, ups and downs of power and disturbances at length which are responsible for creating rebellion attitude among some warrior races.
2. The previous studies made so far have been confined to ravinous Chambal valley and wild Bundelkhand. Places like the fertile region of Doab is now the operation field of dacoit gangs, where there is not so ideal hideouts leaves some reasonable questions to bestudied.
3. The present study also covers the nature and Bases of deviants like Pindaris.
4. And lastly, the persent work attempts to examine the previous studies in the light of present circumstances and to what extent the privious scholar made rationale conclusions about the problem.

5. What are the regional peculiarities of Doab and Bundelkhand and what are the antecedents of the problem of dacoity in these regions with the relevant background information on both the regions. Thus, this study covers the whole belt of dacoity in fested area in Uttar Pradesh.

#### DEFINING THE CONCEPTS

Dacoity: Sociologically, the term dacoity is nearer to brigandage. Brigandage is an antisocial activity carried on by a group of armed outlaws usually under the leadership of locally formed chieftain. Brigand bands restore to holdups, train attacks, plunder, blackmail and holding for ransom. The essence of all the methods that the brigand utilizes to gain his ends is terrorism and violence.

Dacoity is derived from the Hindi word 'daka' which means to plunder. Although it carries more weight than extortion, theft, burglary, plundering or robbery it is not altogether different from them. Roughly, if force or threat of force is added to theft or extortion, it is robbery. And when robbery is undertaken by a considerable number of offenders, it becomes dacoity. In India Penal Code, dacoity is defined under section 391 as such:

"When five or more persons conjointly commit or attempt to commit robbery, and persons present and aiding such commission or attempt, amount to five or more, every person so

committing, attempting or aiding is said to commit dacoity".

In dacoity, robbery and violence go together. Thus, in legal term dacoity is a conspiracy of five or more persons to engage in an act of violent robbery. Although the legal definition of dacoity has been used for the practical purpose of crime statistics, it is of limited Sociological Significance. A big gang may employ three or four persons for such a crime which may taken than he legally regarded as robbery and not dacoity. Similarly with change in circumstances they may occur correspondingly changes in the Modus operandi, say them theft or extortion to subscription of levy or kidnapping for ransom.

Dacoitization: Dacoitisation is a process where individual belonging to a given socio-cultural tradition resort to outlawry and violence, neutralize social constraints, join a gang, adopts its criminal values and norms and reinforce them. It begins very early in adolescence, with the socialization of the individuals concerned towards a violent and rebellious attitude and lack of respect for the law.

Murder: Under section 302 of India Penal Code murder is defined basically as causing the death of another person with the intention of killing. Exception is made when the act is committed under provocation or in self defence.

Abduction & Kidnapping: Section 362 of IPC reads, whoever by force compels, or by any deceitful means induces, any person to go from any place, is said to abduct that person "By kidnapping

is generally meant child staling (Section 361 IPC). However, the word 'Kidnapping' may be used here for taking any male or female away without his/her or gaurdian's consent for the purpose of ransom or ravishment.

Surrender: When an offender consciously hands over him-self, alongwith his arms to law, it is termed surrender. According to motive behind it, surrender can broadly be grouped into two categories:

- (a) Voluntary surrender is one in which an offender surrenders himself unconditionally without any physical pressure or threat of such pressure.
- (b) A conditional surrender is one which is done under some conditions, physical pressure or in return for certain concessions.

#### THEORETICAL FRAME OF REFERENCE

As discussed in this chapter, from the later half of twentieth century the social scientists have been exploring the problem of dacoity in context of numerous different angles, but the outcome is very meagre regarding the establishment of theoretical frame of dacoity problem. Various explanation viz. ecological, psychological and socio-economical etc. have been sought regarding the factors which are associated with delinquency and crime. But their explanations have not reached to the extent of a satisfactory theoretical formulation of the

subject. Though in the past certain theories of crime and deviation have been propounded by certain theorist to explain the etiology of crime, but these theories were not focussed to deal with dacoity.

The complexities of the crime phenomenon have attracted the attention of specialists from many fields - each of them interpreting it from a particular disciplinary perspective. Serious thinking over the phenomenon, however started only a little over two centuries ago. Influenced by the philosophy of hedonism and the concept of 'Freedom of will', Beccaria speculated that criminal behaviour represents the algebraic sum of pleasure and pain, the balance of pleasure in a given criminal act exceeding the pain.<sup>1</sup> Quetlet concluded that certain cartographic factors affect human behaviour including crime. Since then criminological theory has covered much ground. In contemporary times, much emphasis has been laid on sociological reasoning and empirical analysis. The theories which are based on these approaches may be discussed in three broad groups:

1. Typological Theories:- The focus in these is on the individual his biology and psychology. The nexus between heredity and crime is as engaging as it is intriguing. Darwin postulated the theory of pangenesis; Weismann, the theory of germ-

1. Beccaria, C., 1767: An Essay on Crimes and Punishments,

Almon, London, quoted from, Khan, M.Z.,  
Encyclopaedia of Social Work in India.

plasma; Galton, the arithmetical transfer of hereditary traits and Mendel, the concept of 'recessive' and 'dominant' traits and the laws governing their transmission from one generation to another. Nevertheless, none of these theories is able to establish the criminal tendency is inherited. A few studies on criminal families as well as on monozygotic twins, show that criminal tendency is neither a biotype nor a genotype trait; in contrast, it is a phenotype trait which comes about due to environmental influence.

That the body-build may be a correlative of criminal tendency has been a subject of study for long. Physical handicaps have often been linked with anti-social behaviour. Kretschmer developed a classification of somatotypes in relations to psychosis and general personality.<sup>1</sup> Using Kretschmer's classification, Sheldon has developed the typologies of endomorphs, mesomorphs and ectomorphs,<sup>2</sup> delineating their criminal proclivities.

Many have attempted to connect criminal tendency with anthropological characteristics. Among the most known in this area is, of course, Lombroso.<sup>3</sup> His hypothesis was that the typical criminal can be identified on the basis of 'certain

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1. Kretschmer, E., 1925: *Physique and Character*, Harcourt Brace Janovich, New York.

2. Sheldon, W.H., 1949: *Varieties of Delinquent Youth*, Harper's, New York.

3. Lombroso, C., 1911: *Crime, Its Causes and Remedies*, Little Brown, Boston.

definite physical features' like slanting forehead, long ear-lobes, thick and excessive hairiness non-sensitive skin and asymmetrical face. The influence of these ideas, however, greatly declined with the publication of the 'English Convict' by Charles Goring.<sup>1</sup> Likewise, researchers have attempted to relate endocrine malfunctioning to behaviour. Hoskins has studied glands and their functioning.<sup>2</sup> Notwithstanding the scientific rigours which have gone into the constitutional, anthropological and endocrinological studies, few have been able to provide conclusive evidence that criminal tendency is influenced by any of these factors.

Attention may now be turned to mental make up. Goddard asserts that almost all criminals are feeble-minded.<sup>3</sup> Similarly, many psychiatrists attribute it to epilepsy, neurosis, psychosis or moral insanity. Many psychoanalytical concepts propounded by Sigmund Freud connect up with crime causation. Also instincts, according to Freud, are relevant to criminal tendency.<sup>4</sup> The criminal tendency has often been interpreted in terms of low intelligence quotient. Nonetheless, it is difficult to accept the proposition that those who violate law are mentally sick or dim-witted.

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1. Goring, C., 1913: *The English Convict: A Statistical Study*,  
HMSO, London.
  2. Hoskins, R.G., 1941: *Endocrinology*, W.W. Norton and Co. New York.
  3. Goddard, H.H., 1914: *Feeble-mindedness*, MacMillan, New York.
  4. Freud, S.A., 1953: *General Introduction to Psychoanalysis*,  
Perma Books, New York.

2. Sociological Theories:- In criminological thought the most diverse are sociological theories. While typological theories focus on the individual, sociological theories concern themselves with the social environment.

(i) Anomie Theory:- To Durkheim, crime was a fact of life. He argued, "A society without criminality would necessitate standardization of the moral conceptions of all the individuals which is neither possible nor desirable .. on the other hand, if there were no system of moral repression, a system of moral heterogeneity would exist which is irreconcilable with the very existence of society".<sup>1</sup> If crime is inevitable, the punishment also is a social necessity because it is the only instrument which strengthens the value system and support the structural stability. Durkheim visualised a break down of social stability when aspirations are pitched too high and associated with the industrial societies, which are in a chronic state of anomie.<sup>2</sup> Durkheim applied the concept of anomie to the division of labour and suicide. He did not try to develop its implications for a general theory of deviant behaviour.

Merton's concept of anomie has been very influential. While Durkheim ascribed social disorganisation to economic crises, Merton's refinement perceived the intrinsic pressures

1. Durkheim, Emile, 1958: The Rules of the Sociological Method, (8th ed.), Free Press Glencoe, quoted by Rao.
2. Rao, Venugopal, 1983: Crime In Our Society: A Political Perspective, p. 98, Vikas Publishing House, Delhi.

in any social order which demand adjustment between aspirations and legitimate opportunities and determined the various levels and points in the social structure at which anti social conduct is activated due to maladjustment. The gap between aspirations and the means compels an otherwise law abiding person to opt for illegal ends, means. "It is only when a system of cultural values extals, virtually above all else certain common success goals for the population at large, while the social structure regorously restricts or completely closes access to approved modes of reaching these goals for a considerable part of the same population, that deviant behaviour ensues on a large scale."<sup>1</sup>

This disjunction between goals and means, and the consequent strain, leads to a weakening of man's commitment to the culturally prescribed goals, that is, to a state of anomie, which create the problem of adjustment. Cloward and Ohlin, 1962 comments - "When a social system generates severe problems of adjustment for the occupants of a particular social status, it is likely that a collective challenge to the legitimacy of the established rules of conduct will emerge. This is especially likely where a democratic ideology exists, espousing equately of opportunity and universally high aspirations for success".<sup>2</sup>

1. Merton, R.K., 1957: Social Theory and Social Structure, p.1  
Free Press, Glencoe.
2. Cloward, R.E.&Ohlin, L.A., 1962: Delinquency and Opportunity,  
Free Press, New York, quoted by Rao, 1983:100.

It is overwhelming sense of social injustice which weakens legitimacy of a social order or the social institutions. When feeling is widespread, it leads to revolt. On lower scale it is diffused as traditional criminality.

(ii) Culture Conflict Theory:- Thorsten Sellin has put forward the theory of culture conflict. According to this, when the cultural norms of contiguous cultural areas collide, when legal codes of one groups are extended over the territory of another, or when migration takes place, culture conflict occurs resulting in the violation of norms.

Observing the relationship between crime and culture, Sellin said, "Among the various instrumentalities which social groups have evolved to secure conformity in the conduct of their members, the criminal law occupies an important place .... for its norms are binding upon all who live within the political boundaries of a state and are enforced through the coercive power of the state. In some states these groups may comprise the majority, in others a minority, but the social values which receive the protection of the criminal law are ultimately those which are treasured by dominant interest groups".<sup>1</sup>

In Indian perspective Rao, (1983: 102) comments, the fact that community and castes with different cultural traits and values coexist for the most part in harmony, does not

i. Sellin Thorsten, 1938: Culture, Conflict and Crime, S.S.R.C.,

New York, quoted by Rao, 1983; 102.

dilute the concept, because "clashes between different cultures can occur without local change in the composition and structure of the population, and on the other hand, such changes may without causing culture conflict."<sup>1</sup>

(iii) Sub-cultural Theory:- In deed, there is nothing new about the use of the sub-cultural theory to explain regional differences in crime. A sub culture has been defined as "a sub division of a national culture, composed of a combination of factorable social situations such as class, status, ethnic background and regional and rural urban residence, and religious affiliation, but forming in their combination a functional unity which has an integrated impact on the participating individual".<sup>2</sup>

Here, murders arising from land disputes, communal and caste outrages, personal vendetta are in intermixture of economic motivations and cultural conflicts. Dacoity, murder, loot etc. are again a projection of crystallized cultural attitudes and can be viewed in the light of those values which approved rebellion practice. In the context of dacoity how caste subculture grew and became a part of the social order in the form of criminal activities, which convert crime into an occupation especially among martial castes. As Rao,(1983:108)

1. Mannheim,Hermann, 1965: Comparative Criminology, Houghton

Mitlin & Co., Boston, quoted by Rao, 1983:102.

2. Rao, Vanugopal, 1983: .... Ibid, p. 103.

observes, "Although dacoity, one of the important forms of violence has an economic base, the importance of a tradition which extolled the dacoits as Baghis - revolutionaries against an exploitative order - can not be minimized. The incidence of dacoity has shown a remarkable decline after the sarvodaya experiment in Madhya Pradesh, but it continues to flourish within Utter Pradesh, where pockets of violence, supported by tradition and a blighted environment, persists. The indications are that this form of crime will gradually come down with socio-economic development of the Chambal valley ravines whose geographical inaccessibility merely serves to strengthen the deviant base".<sup>1</sup>

A person born into one such group even now by force of tradition, training and association develops attitudes in conformity with those of group. His values are different and distinctly hostile to the environing culture. In strict sense of the term, criminal subculture is primary feature of Indian criminal tribes and castes which have been statutorily decriminalized now but some of whom continue to adhere to their traditional values. In the present context, however, we are thinking in terms of the vast number of people who do not belong to a subculture ethos as a member of denotified tribes did, but a host of delinquents who emerge at different points of time and at different social levels though structural process.<sup>2</sup>

1. Ibid..... p. 108.

2. Ibid..... p. 104.

(iv) Differential Association Theory:- In general the differential association theory deals with the role of a group in deviance amplification. It looks upon the problem of deviance from the following view points:

(a) Opportunity differential on a regional basis:- scholars of the ecological, or the Chicago school, come under this category. They utilise regional considerations in the study of crime and characterise a part of a city, area, or region as one with a criminal tradition. They believed that those who live within its periphery are more likely to resort to outlawry than those who live without.<sup>1</sup>

(b) Opportunity differential for association and learning: The proponents of this school emphasise the learning aspect of criminal behaviour. Sutherland (1939: 70), for example, while defining his principle of differential association, mentions that a man becomes a criminal because of his contacts with criminal patterns and also because of his isolation from anti-criminal patterns.<sup>2</sup>

(c) Opportunity differential for means of satisfying goals: Theorists of this tradition seek to interpret deviance in terms of deprivation or lack of opportunity for fulfilment of the goals through legitimate means, as also in terms of the availability of illegitimate means to achieve them.

1. Shaw, C.R. and McKay, H., 1942: Juvenile Delinquency and Urban Areas, University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

2. Reiss, A.J. and Rhodes, A.L., : "An Empirical Test of Differential Association Theory in The Sociology of Crime and Delinquency, ed. Marvin E., Wolfgang.

Taken together, while sociological theories have done much by drawing the attention towards the role played by sociocultural factors in the rise of criminal tendency, they have been very diverse.

3. Radical Perspectives:- In the recent decades, it has been argued that the psychological and sociological theories, and conceptual frames lack historical perspective and ignore the fact and the impact of the 'ban' (law) which results in ordinary man being labelled as deviants or criminals.<sup>1</sup> The main assumptions in this have been:

- (a) criminal law does not represent the professed shared morality; it is merely an embodiment of the particular interests of the ruling few in a stratified society;
- (b) crime is not a quality of an act the person commits but rather a consequence of rules and sanctions;
- (c) the criminal justice system has been regarded as the criminal processing system which functions to maintain the status quo to protect the interest of the elite or to promote 'carceralism' of the functionaries;
- (d) the poor do not break the legal codes more often than others, although they are arrested more often and treated more harshly in order to prevent more extensive nonconformity and it is they on whom the label of criminal is more successfully applied.<sup>2</sup>

1. Matza, D., 1969: *Becoming Deviant*, Prentice-Hall, p. 107.

New York.

2. Becker, op.cit., p. 8.

Becker, Turk, Quinney, Matza, Ericson, Chambliss and Mankoff and many others have further extended these perspectives. The radical perspectives have done much to provoke thinking and to induce a reexamination of the functioning of different criminal justice sectors. However, it is difficult to subscribe to them without reservations. There is seen in them a certain lack of logical reasoning - not to mention the non-availability of empirical evidence.

It is apparent that no single theory is applicable to explain the institution of dacoity fairly and fully. The basic limitation of uni causal theories is that they are unable to account for all factors responsible for dacoity. It might be more relevant here to say that the theory of anomie, theory of subcultural and the theory of differential association are applicable to some extent.

The theory of caste sub-culture, which is based on the assumption that certain elements like norms, values, choices, or expressions of criminal orientation - are common to a particular caste and those elements differ significantly from caste to caste, also provides a clue for understanding the causative factors of the problem. However, while we may use the concept of caste sub-culture we should not use it as a categorical imperative. Although, culture emerges violence or predatory activity in a person, it does not necessarily determine his course of action.

Therefore, assumption of this study for enhancing theoretical formulation, it is realized that theories of sociological perspective may give us thorough insight and provide due explanation in understanding the problem.

### THE AREA OF STUDY

Before going into the depth of the problem, it would be rather good to highlight the area of study. Although, there are other regions where the incidence of dacoity is very high, specially the Chambal and Bundelkhand regions of Madhya Pradesh are crime prone and have been known historically for violence and loot. They have produced the most feared dacoits of this century who have carried on the tradition of loot, murder, pillage and kidnapping.

But in recent time, the southern west part of Uttar Pradesh which is linked with the border of Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan, is gaining new dimension in the history of dacoity. Hence we have concentrated upon this newly dacoits infested area of Uttar Pradesh including the region of Bundelkhand for study purpose. It has a coverage of twelve districts which were declared dacoits infested by Uttar Pradesh Government. The total given area of study comprises over 52928 Sq. Kms. and the population, according to census 1981, is 21358186.

Table No. 1

Dacoits Infested Districts of Uttar Pradesh

S.No.	District	Area (Sq.Km.)	Population.	No. of Villages
1.	Agra	4805	2852474	1182
2.	Brahm	4446	1837575	1524
3.	Mainpuri	4343	1724057	1386
4.	Bastah	4326	1748737	1477
5.	Farrukhabad	4274	2002513	1626
6.	Kanpur	6176	3790549	1898
7.	Buduan	5168	1964094	1814
8.	Jhansi	5024	1133002	} 1450
9.	Lalitpur	5039	597290	
10.	Banda	7624	1536349	1207
11.	Hanipur	7166	1194114	930
12.	Jalsun	4565	987432	957
<b>Total</b>		<b>52928</b>	<b>21358186</b>	<b>15451</b>

The reasons for limiting the area of study and selection of above districts are many. First of all these were the scenes where the most notorious of the dacoit gangs since Man Singh to bandit queen Phoolan Devi and others operated and secondly, there were scores of incidence of mass murder took place during a very short period. Kanpur, Etah, Etawah and Manipuri are most problematic districts where a number of people shot dead by the notorious dacoit gangs. If we take a close look at the incidence of dacoities and murder and yearly data of crimes of these districts, not only the gravity of crime but the law and order position could be realised.

TABLE II  
Incidence of Crime Under I.P.C. in Uttar Pradesh

Year	Dacoity	Robbery	Murder	Burglary	Total IPC Cong. Offences
1970	4192	7510	3434	48394	234000
1971	4657	7681	3505	48894	238712
1972	3650	6248	3641	44976	219326
1973	3487	6359	3927	41483	224984
1974	4541	8437	4513	46298	252305
1975	4084	7736	4416	40925	242024
1976	3315	6338	4286	33124	200167
1977	4187	7843	4756	37300	222600
1978	3644	6919	5202	32484	213471
1979	3650	7003	5329	28223	205644
1980	3643	6624	5422	70050	196715
1981	2858	5306	5568	21915	189963

Source: Uttar Pradesh I.G. Police Headquarters, Lucknow.  
The observation of above crime figures has a direct

relevance to the law and order situation in the state where the Uttar Pradesh Police showed a falling trend in decolty. The above statistic do not fully reflect the crime situation because there are many reasons for not reporting the crime.

The above reasons lend a special importance from the point of view of research since the problem could be found in these regions of Uttar Pradesh in an accentuated form.

CHAPTER : XI

METHODOLOGY

## METHODOLOGY

To prepare the specific framework of our research project, comprising both theoretical and the field work operations, individuals and organisations have been contacted for whatever data they had on the subject. As a result, preliminary discussions were held with some of the officials of police and Jail departments, persons and organisation who already worked on dacoity problem, social worker and agencies active in the field, ex-dacoit chieftains and a few dacoit's families.

## RESEARCH DESIGN

Research design is the plan, structure and strategy of investigation conceived so as to obtained answers to research questions and to control, variance. The plan is the overall schorce or program of the research. It includes an out line of what the investigator will do from writing the hypothesis and their operational implications to the final analysis of data. The structure of research is more specific. It is the outline, the scheme, the paradigm of the operation of the variables. Strategy implies how the research objectives will be reached and how the problems encountered in the research will be tackled.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Kerlinger Fred, N., 1978 : Foundations of Behavioural Research p. 300, Surjeet Pub., New Delhi.

Research design is formulated as a part of research methodology which requires coverage of the following points for the empirical testing:<sup>1</sup>

1. What others have contributed to the subject by now?
2. What more is proposed to be contributed?
3. Under what working definitions and hypothesis the study is being undertaken?
4. What are the criteria of selection of area and method of enquiry?
5. And last, the analysis of collected facts and findings in the light of either rejecting, modifying or accepting the old existing explanation of the object or establishing new facts.

The present study is both descriptive as well as analytical. At the descriptive level an attempt has been made to objectively assess the various elements of dacoity system. But while it explores the various elements of dacoity, it also seeks to analyse them in sociological perspective and corresponding socio-historical correlates. We seek to examine how for the previous researches have made their contribution to explore the problem in scientific manner.

1. Maheshwari, C.L., 1980, A Sociological Study of Recidivists in U.P. Ph.D. thesis, Institute of Social Sciences, Agra University.

### HYPOTHESIS

A hypothesis is a conjectural statement of relation between two or more variables. It is not always possible for a researcher to formulate his problem simply, clearly, and completely. There are three criteria of good problems and problem statements. One, the problem should express a relation between two or more variables, two, the problem should be stated clearly and unambiguously in question form. The third criterion is often difficult to satisfy. It demands that the problem and the problem statement should be such as imply possibilities of empirical testing.<sup>1</sup>

In the same way there are two criteria for a good hypothesis and hypothesis statement. They are the same as two of those for problems and problem statement. One, hypothesis are statements about the relations between variables. Two, hypothesis carry clear implications for testing the stated relations statement that takes either or both these characteristics is no hypothesis in the scientific sense of the word.<sup>2</sup>

There is little doubt that hypothesis is an important and indispensable tool in scientific research. The study begins

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1. Kerlinger .... p. 18.

2. Ibid ..... p. 19.

with the general assumption that dacoity is a product of social structure, and that the individual dacoit is only a symptom of the existence of the relevant structural conditions and processes. It is also argued, and perhaps with some justification, that odd in favour of dacoity are greater for those who are emotionally unstable and physically strong. In other words the present study attempts to analyse the socio-cultural matrix and establish the linkage between the society and dacoity.

The structural factors play largely a dominant role. so long as these factors persists in a society, the dacoity will continue to flourish. The basic assumptions implied here is that dacoity is a systematic product which has grown to its present institutional form through a long historical process. And dacoity last as long as these systemic conditions remain irrespective of individual will or choice. Briefly, then, the system of dacoity is governed by same general law that relate to the general structure of society.

Those who resort to infraction are governed by special conditions and special laws which are in turn determined by general conditions and general laws. In other wards, though the two perspectives, one relating the system and the other to the individual, are apparently distinct and exclusive, they represent two mutually interrelated viewpoints, in as much as they afford a coherent and complete understanding of the problem.

1. Singh, R.G., 1979: Becoming Dacoits: A Case Study of the Dacoity System in Central India. Journal of Social and Economic Studies, p. 19.

### APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF DEVIANCE

There are three major approaches to the study of deviance. First there is structural model, in some form or other, propounded by Marx (1845) and Durkheim (1893) and carried further by Merton (1938), Sutherland (1939) and Parsons (1951). The major concern of this model is with the structural-cultural levels in the study of deviance. Applied to the present context it emphasizes precisely those socio-historical or systemic forces which relate etiologically to dacoity.<sup>1</sup>

The second is the processual model. Prominent among those who have used this model are the Labeling theorists, Lemert (1951), Becker (1963) and Sucher (1971). While deviance in the structural model is regarded basically as rule breaking and emphasis on 'etiological condition', in the second instance the origin and continuance of deviance is commensurate with the degree of societal reaction brought upon it. The relevance of this model in the present context is limited because dacoity, as from being stigmatized, is almost a socially accepted affair in the society under study.

Third, there are the phenomenologists who change the level of emphasis by concentrating upon the individual. They lay emphasis on the inner life of a deviant, his motivation and the sense and meaning the attaches him when he turned deviant (cicourel 1968, Matza 1969, Mc Hught 1970).

1. Singh, R.G., 1980 : ... op.cit., p.5-7

In our study of the central theme of this problem our attempt has been to adhere closely to the structural model in preference to the other two. For one thing an acceptance of the postulate that dacoity germinates not from the individual but from the social fabric makes it necessary to adopt a comparative method for unfolding the deeper layers of the broader social system responsible for its genesis. Besides the force that operate at the system level, there is yet another which acts at the individual level and gives rise to and perpetuate the system of dacoity in society.

From the view point of an individual and his perception of deviance and his subsequent neutralisation of existing constraints to commit infraction and adopt a career of a deviate, the structural forces, regardless of their effect on him, are to be looked at independently (They are seldom perceived by a dacoit in his act of transgression). The weberian approach, a major source of inspiration for phenomenologists, has therefore been heavily relied upon to study the motivations behind a dacoit's (actor's) indulgence in dacoity (activity).

#### LOCATION AND SELECTION OF SAMPLE

As the study intends to deal with the problem of dacoity in the area of dacoits infested regions of Uttar Pradesh with special reference to Doab and Bundelkhand, these two regions are geographically separated but they have the bane of dacoity in common. Here, it would be better to mention that Uttar Pradesh

one of the largest state of India has been selected for analysing the dacoity system, since the dacoities have been showing tremendous increase in this state in comparision of other states of Indian territory.

It is rather difficult and risky to contact a good number of dacoits in open air due to the lack of adequate information about them and their availability besides the scattered universe. Hence it was proposed to conduct pilot survey of central and district jail of Uttar Pradesh. The present study delimits its concern to convicted and surrendered dacoits who have been imprisoned in above jails. According to the Jail Reform Committee<sup>1</sup>, 1980, the number of convicts ( IPC ) in dacoity was 1307 including female dacoits, out of which about 15% male dacoits were taken to interview in five central and seven district jails of Uttar Pradesh, including Baghi Sudhar Grah, Fatehgarh. Because it was not possible for an individual researcher with limited means and time to study all convicted and surrendered dacoits.

For the purpose of study, the permission to interview the inmates was sought from Inspector General of Prisons, head quarters, Lucknow (U.P.) with the help of Home Department, Government of Uttar Pradesh.

During the field work, it was found that Prison administration does not have any classified records of convicts according to I.P.C. Sections. So, first of all we had to prepare

1. Jail Reform Committee, 1980: Home Affairs Department,  
Uttar Pradesh, Lucknow.

the list of inmate dacoits from records of jail register,  
then we conducted the interview.

These dacoits fall under three categories:

1. Those acquitted after trials.
  2. Those released after the completion of their sentence, and
  3. Those staying :- (a) ordinary district or central Jails.  
(b) Baghi Sudhar Grah, (Fatehgarh).

There were 1307 (including female dacoits) dacoit inmates inhabited in different jails of Uttar Pradesh out of which a sample of 224 male dacoits was drawn for the study purpose. It included the former dacoit chieftains 7 and sub-chieftains 3 confined to the 'Bagni Sudhar Grah' Fatehgarh, and other jails. The other dacoits in the sample were selected at purposive sampling amongst those in the central and district jails from last category.

TABLE III

### Interviewed Sample of Dacoit Inmates

S.No.	Name of the Jail	Convicted	Undertrial	Surren- dered	Total
		Arrested/ Surrender.	Convicted	Convicted	
1.	Model Jail Lucknow	22	--	--	22
2.	Central Jail Bareilly	26	--	--	26
3.	Central Jail Fatehgarh	37	1	9	47
4.	Central Jail Naini	34	--	--	34
5.	Central Jail Banaras	30	--	--	30
6.	Dist. Jail Agra	11	--	--	11
7.	Dist. Jail Etah	11	3	--	14
8.	Dist. Jail Mainpuri	11	4	--	15
9.	Dist. Jail Etawah	2	3	1	6
10.	Dist. Jail Fatehgarh	10	1	--	11
11.	Distt. Jail Jhansi	--	5	1	6
12.	Distt. Jail Banda	2	-3	--	2
Total		196	17	11	224

Besides the obvious advantages of easy traceability and accessibility, there is some qualitative justification for this kind of selection and its approximation to representativeness. The dacoits in the last category were mostly simple dacoits not ruthless criminals while the surrendered dacoits were ruthless hardened criminals with long criminal records.

Data Collection:- First of all, the initial information were gathered from various sources like existing literature, contacts with officials as well as non officials etc. Then, an interview schedule was framed to conduct interview with inmates of jails. The whole subject was devided into six sections:

(i) Personal Identification:- This part of interview schedule consisted mostly of questions on demographic features such as age, education, occupation, caste, religion, marital status etc. of the sample.

(ii) Family Background:- It involved an inquiry into the nature of family, background such as, nature of family, its occupation and income, family problems and family life before coming in dacoity.

(iii) Criminal History Before Dacoity:- Dealt mainly with informations on the criminal background of the dacoits including their details of crime and punishment given by court.

(iv) Details of Dacoity Life:- This is the main part of interview schedule which cover a variety of questions on the nature of dacoity system. A deep inquiry has been made about the personal causes of dacoity, descision making process,

conditions for admission in a gang and rationalisation about their descission etc.

(v) General Informations:- It complements the data collection phase through questions on various issues relating to the life of dacoits and their needs.

(vi) Gang Organisations:- A supplementary interview guide was prepared to interview with dacoit chieftains to know about gang organisation and its different aspects.

pretesting:- The drafted schedule was given for pretesting to the ten dacoits in two prisons - district jail Data and Tikamgarh (M.P.). And then, the necessary changes were made. Inquiries on personal habits and hobbies were added. Like-wise some other items which appeared irrelevant or where the interviews were found hesitant, evasive or deliberately misleading, were deleted. Generally the dacoits did not want to tell about their crimes committed before conviction. Data collection on such matters, however was not possible easily through any reliable source. At the same time, some new items which were felt to give added tonnage to the problem under review, like the dynamics of gang, were included. A separate interview schedule was served to gang chieftains to know about gang organisation.

Interviews:- For comprehensive study it was decided to collect informations regarding the object at three levels:

- i. Interviews have been taken with inmates on the basis of interview schedule,

- ii. In some cases, free associational interviews were also taken.
- iii. In addition to these interviews, the help of Prison Personnels have been taken time to time.

Initially the inmates were curious about the investigator and suspicious of the object of this project. The first, we made an attempt to give a synoptic view of what the project implied. Still some of the dacoits were reluctant to tell their criminal history, but after a good deal of persuasion they agreed to unfold their activities during their dacoity career.

Interview schedule was applied as the main tool for the collection of data. Interview, in each case, was made purely on individual basis after establishing a good deal of acquaintance to make them reveal their heart. The investigator was given all possible facilities and opportunities by the prison authorities for conducting free interview as long as they were needed during the working hours of prison.

The selected inmates were generally interviewed in some lone places or room of concerning barracks of prison maintained sufficient privacy and absence of officials to assure more secret and reliable responses, those called for interview were usually brought by convicted warder with the permission of concerning incharges. Convicted warder tried to assure the inmate that none of the information given would

be harm him and that he would be free to speak openly and frankly. Before starting with the interview to take inmate in confidence was the prerequisite condition for the success of this technique. Each case was assured of the secrecy of the interview by the researcher also.

In begining of the interview, the inmates dacoits were not willing to talk much. They were doubtful and suspicious about the intention of researcher and were very cautious in his speech. Also the sense of guilt and anger was very strong in them. Some of them were irritated at being questioned about their past specially their criminal history and dacoity career. Though, the group of surrendered dacoits was more responsive, bold and frank in taking about their criminal activities of the dacoity life but petty or local dacoits were reluctant to express their heart with ease. They were again and again reminded by the researcher that their talk with him would not harm them in any way and be helpful to the next generation of the land. To get full response it was decided to conduct free associational interview in some cases. Most of the gang chieftains were more prone to boast about their deeds committed during dacoity span.

For collecting the maximum factual data we had, therefore, not only to be sympathetic and tactful to the inmates but also had to accept their welcome. Still, the chances of giving some sensitive information correct by them could not be denied.

During the interview with dacoits and others the researcher has to use interview dialect.

For about three months, the researcher toured and visited the whole area of study. We met a number of people including persons in high authority of jails and police and even some victims of villages. We discussed with them the problem in all its aspects. Almost the main points of conversations and discussions were noted at the same time or before going to bed.

Case Studies:- A few case studies, some of seasoned dacoits and some of major mass murder incidents, have been prepared intensively to arrive at a deeper level of understanding of a deviate's psychological motivations. More specially, the probe has been centred on the study of ex-dacoit chieftains who had been eliminated during encounters with police in last decade.

Secondary Sources:- Besides the first hand data collected by researcher through interviews, valuable material has also been collected from secondary sources, major secondary sources were the records of the police and jail departments, census reports, district statistical hand books, and district gazetteers of north west province and central India. Recourse has also been taken to historical literature and different doctoral theses etc.

Reliability of Data:- In order to ensure the reliability of data collected through interviews, it was tallied with the

findings of observation verified with others. Whenever and wherever thought necessary and appropriate, and lastly with the common sense knowledge of the problems. Jail and police records were also consulted for the purpose and jail officials including welfare staff were contacted for necessary informations.

Analysis of Material:- To draw out the general conclusions, the data, so collected were turned into tables. Most of the tables in the investigation represent informations selected even from more complicated preliminary tables. General conclusions were drawn after running the data through various stages of analysis classifying and tabulating the material on points of similarity and dissimilarity.

Limitations of the Study:- There are some limitations the present study focused on the nature and bases of dacoity system. To conduct the primary investigation the area has been limited to dacoits infested regions of Uttar Pradesh. Specially the regions of Doab and Bundelkhand. Besides it, the study does not cover any remedial measure of the problem, such as rehabilitation of surrendered dacoits, prison adoption etc. We could not authentically present the suggestions on the effective eradication of dacoity also.

Difficulty Faced:- The first and foremost problem faced before field work was to obtain formal permission for visiting the various prisons in Uttar Pradesh. The procedure adopted in the matter was a very long and tedious one. One has to go

under many interrogations of the authorities. Officers at high level in police and prison departments, particularly at the police headquarters, Lucknow were not very helpful. The delaying attitude of the officials of prison headquarters, Lucknow, in fact, placed many difficulties and obstacles in gaining the permission to interview the jail inmates. However the cooperation extended by secretary, Home Department of the Government of Uttar Pradesh, Lucknow helped to ease the problem and objection raised at prison headquarter level. At the same time, there is no gainsaying that the willing cooperation extended by I.G. Anti dacoity cell, Agra and superintendents of different central and district jails made my task easy.

In prisons the inmates are not free of constraint. They are busy in their assigned work from morning to late noon, still, I was given a lot of time and help to interview with them. Initially they were reluctant to furnish the informations fully and fairly. Thus, collection of data is very tedious and tiring job. To deal with criminals is not easy task. They generally, complained bitterly about their realase, especially those who had passed a good part of their imprisonment. They also criticised about the lack of reformatory view of prison officials. Thus, to concentrate them on our project was seem difficult in starting, but later on they responded well to some extent.

As the problem under study has many dimensions, the area of study is also wide and time consuming, a single hand investigator cannot work smoothly. The most difficult problem was economic. Any way I could complete my work.

CHAPTER III

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SETTING

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## SETTING

The State of Uttar Pradesh is divided into 57 districts including two new districts - Ghaziabad and Lalitpur out of which 12 districts have been declared dacoits infested by Uttar Pradesh Government under an ordinance.<sup>1</sup> These Districts are Agra, Etah, Etawah, Mainpuri, Farrukhabad, Kanpur and Budaun lie in the widest part of Indo-Gangentic plain while rest of the five districts - Jhansi, Jalaun, Hamirpur, Banda and Lalitpur represent to hilly Vindhayan range of Bundelkhand.

For the study purpose the total area may conveniently be divided into two parts - Ganga-Yamuna Doab and Bundelkhand. Though the two regions, namely Doab and Bundelkhand are Geographically separated from each other but they have been known historically for violence, loot and the bane of dacoity in common.

The districts of Doab region cover south western part of Uttar Pradesh. It is joined on the north by district of Mathura, Aligarh, Moradabad and Rampur. In the South by the district of Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan. Especially Agra is bordered on the West by the district of Bharatpur (Rajasthan) while on the South East by the district of Morena and Bhind (M.P.) which are especially crime prone. On the North to East of Etah, Mainpuri, Farrukhabad and Kanpur, there is a long strip of the districts of Sahjahanpur, Hardoi, Unnao and Fatehpur

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1. Uttar Pradesh Government Ordinance, October 22, 1981.

which are equally crimeprone. The eastern part of Doab is attached with the Bundelkhand area.

Historically, the boundaries of the Bundelkhand region have undergone changed from time to time. The boundary of Bundelkhand was defined as lying between the river Yamuna on the North, Narmada on the South, Chambal on the West and Tons on the East. The area under study of Bundelkhand is located in the extreme South corner of Uttar Pradesh which is almost surrounded by the Northern portion of Madhya Pradesh. In the south of the district Jhansi, Lalitpur, Hamirpur and Banda the district of Madhya Pradesh named Tikamgarh, Chhattarpur and Panna are situated which are also dacoits infested. The western boundaries of Jalaun and Jhansi are linked with the boundaries of Bhind and Datia districts of Madhya Pradesh.

A special feature of these districts is that they are situated in a ravined area where moreover a number of states adjoin each other. As a result it is not a case of each state having to look after its own resident dacoits, but on other hand, dacoits originating in one state often find shelter in another state where they have relatives or otherwise find conditions more suitable for shelter.

Thus, there is a long strip of dacoits infested districts on both the sides of river Yamuna and Ganga from Budaun to Banda. The central area of operation of gangs is found in the southern part of Etawah where Yamuna, Chambal, Kunwari, Singh and Pahooj join each others.

### DEMOGRAPHICAL DETAILS

The bulk of the population in both the regions live in the villages. The ratio between the urban and rural population is found to be roughly 1:5. The percentage of urban population of dacoits infested regions is higher (21.56%) against nearly 18% of the state as a whole. A predominantly large section of the population lives in the rural area. Among the dacoits infested districts Kanpur, Agra and Jhansi are highest on the ladder of urbanization while the rest of the districts are below state average.

TABLE IV  
Demographical Details

S.NO.	District	Percentage of Urban Population	Density Female/ 1000
1.	Agra	38.93	594 830
2.	Etah	15.72	413 828
3.	Mainpuri	11.13	397 834
4.	Etawah	14.75	404 831
5.	Parrukhabad	15.73	469 828
6.	Kanpur	47.03	614 833
7.	Badaun	16.18	380 808
8.	Jhansi	37.69	226 868
9.	Banda	11.85	202 865
10.	Hanirpur	16.61	167 856
11.	Jalaun	19.89	216 839
12.	Lalitpur	13.22	117 857
<b>Average</b>		<b>2157</b>	<b>350 839.9</b>

Source: Census Uttar Pradesh, 1981.

The over all density of population in the state comes to 877 per sq. km. while in Bundelkhand average density of population is 185.6 per sq. km. which is below state density. The districts of Kanpur and Agra have a very high density of population of 615 and 594 persons per sq. km. respectively. It is clear from the given table that the district of Doab are dense populated compared to Bundelkhand.

Sex ratio of the state as a whole 886 female per thousand male is slightly higher as compared to dacoits infested regions, 827.4 in Doab and 855 per thousand female in Bundelkhand. Rural area of Badaun district comes at the bottom as 798 females per thousand male.

#### LITERACY AND EDUCATION

The crude literacy rate of Doab region and Bundelkhand (41.64%) is higher as compared to state literacy 27.40% except Badaun. There is significantly low literacy percentage in Badaun (16.33%) following Lalitpur (20.92%) and Banda (23.04%). In rural area it is even more discouraging. Comparatively female literacy as shown in the table V is also very low in all the districts. It is 19.38% in Doab and 13.86% in Bundelkhand. In rural areas, the corresponding figures would be even lower. The reason behind low literacy rate in these areas is that the educational facilities are insufficient and underutilised.

TABLE V.Percentage of Literacy Rate in the Area

S.NO.	District	Male	Female	Total
1.	Agra	44.32	20.36	33.45
2.	Brahm	37.05	13.06	26.19
3.	Mainpuri	45.19	18.57	33.09
4.	Bawali	48.69	24.02	37.49
5.	Parrukhabad	43.03	19.47	32.37
6.	Kanpur	52.89	32.73	43.73
7.	Badaun	22.94	7.49	16.03
8.	Jhansi	60.33	21.02	36.71
9.	Banda	35.58	8.53	23.04
10.	Hamirpur	38.93	11.48	26.27
11.	Jalaun	50.12	18.89	35.87
12.	Lalitpur	30.62	9.39	20.82
Total		41.64	17.08	30.42

Source: Census, Uttar Pradesh, 1981

In both the regions, there are three types of schools – Junior basic, Senior basic and Higher Secondary Schools, but most of the higher educational Institutions are situated in towns and cities. There are still a number of villages from where junior basic schools are within the range of 3 kms. or above the distance of 3 Kms. as shown in the table VI. These educational

facilities do not appear so much sufficient qualitatively or quantitatively. Even in the state number of Junior Basic, Senior Basic and High Schools per one lac population are 68, 13 and 5 respectively.

TABLE VI

Educational Amenities in the Area (1977)

S.No.	District	J. Basic Schools	S. Basic Schools	M.S. Schools	No. of Villages where J.B. Schools at 3 Km. or above
1.	Agra	1443	387	127	428
2.	Etah	996	212	89	580
3.	Mainpuri	1268	250	64	292
4.	Etawah	1026	271	99	635
5.	Farrukhabad	1033	270	103	626
6.	Kanpur	2233	497	142	521
7.	Badaun	1153	129	48	919
8.	Jhansi	945	171	50	327
9.	Banda	1164	190	50	302
10.	Hanipur	1050	132	36	778
11.	Jalaun	912	168	62	183
12.	Lalitpur	643	90	14	317

Source: Directorate of Education, Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad,

Statistical Abstract, Uttar Pradesh, (1977-78)

Lucknow.

OCCUPATION

As might be expected, the two regions are primarily agrarian. 74.54 percent of the worker population is engaged in cultivation including agricultural labourer. About 3.76 percent and 21.87 percent are employed in house hold industries and other works. The general emergence of industrial activities has to a slight extent helped in relieving the pressure of population on the agriculture sector. The most prominent feature of the rural population is a higher ratio of non worker (70.85%), which indicate the insufficiency of avenues for gainful employment.

TABLE VII  
Percentage of Working Population

S.No.	District	Main Worker	Culti-vator	Agri. Labourer	Household Industry	Other Worker
1.	Agra	27.93	39.69	10.02	8.92	41.37
2.	Brahm	28.92	70.28	11.83	2.77	15.12
3.	Mainpuri	26.29	70.89	10.85	2.07	16.20
4.	Bawali	26.37	66.80	12.65	2.56	17.99
5.	Farrukhabad	28.69	67.26	10.09	3.43	19.22
6.	Kanpur	27.91	37.59	12.86	5.71	44.24
7.	Budaun	31.33	78.47	7 .99	1.62	11.49
8.	Jhansi	27.93	48.57	12.46	5.53	33.58
9.	Banda	33.54	59.91	26.10	2.71	12.42
10.	Hanipur	31.15	53.64	28.15	3.85	15.18
11.	Jalaun	28.47	59.02	20.12	2.34	18.99
12.	Lalitpur	31.73	69.30	10.08	3.62	16.67
<b>Total Average</b>		<b>29.15</b>	<b>60.11</b>	<b>14.43</b>	<b>3.76</b>	<b>21.87</b>

Source: Census Uttar Pradesh, 1981.

### LAND USE PATTERN

The land use pattern has been determined by topographical, soil and climatic conditions on the one hand, and regional distribution of population on the other hand. Bundelkhand region has got its own climate, edaphic and socio-economic constraints. The terrain is undulating plains with irregular hills.

The pattern of land utilisation in different district of dacoits infested area is given in table VIII. Of the total forest area in Uttar Pradesh, 6.89 percent is under forests in both the regions. The Bundelkhand region has more area under forests (4.70%) than the Doab region (2.18%). The other uncultivated land excluding fallow land is 28.69 percent of the total used and unculturable land in Uttar Pradesh while culturable waste land covers 43.49 percent of the total culturable waste land in Uttar Pradesh - 18.91 percent in Doab and 24.57 percent in Bundelkhand. The net sown area in Doab (13.39%) is higher than in Bundelkhand (10.61%) of the total sown area in Uttar Pradesh. Both the regions cover 23.93 percent of total sown area in Uttar Pradesh. Mostly the entire area is monocropped in Bundelkhand while Doab is double cropped due to adequate irrigation facilities.

Agricultural production in the two regions is not equal. The Bundelkhand region appears to be rather handicapped, mainly for two reasons: out moded agricultural practices, and inadequate irrigation facilities. It is evident from the table VIII that 55.5 percent land of Doab and 16.3 percent land in Bundelkhand are irrigated by different means of irrigations.

TABLE : VIII

Land Utilisation Pattern And Crop Intensity (1979-80)  
 ( Area in Hectare )

S.N.	District	Reported Forest Area	Userland Unculti- vatable	Other Use	Culturable Waste	Postures & Others	Garden & Orchards	Current Fallow	Other Fallow	Net Sown Intensity of Crop		
1.	Agra	479373	39550	13782	34803	111104	1091	1181	40680	9902	327270	134.46
2.	Etah	444043	1168	12934	36485	81075	1456	5993	32832	12356	294544	154.31
3.	Mainpuri	432619	6829	47952	27873	14572	2711	3799	34968	20767	273148	145.72
4.	Etawah	437863	39684	29357	31168	8148	2260	3038	28578	16051	279579	141.50
5.	Farrukhabad	428851	5767	23305	40230	23384	3087	10956	33917	17494	270711	145.11
6.	Kanpur	620269	11971	55914	47780	16428	4642	13365	26996	17166	426007	131.97
7.	Badaun	520381	6903	14857	40969	8764	736	9012	34165	12033	392942	135.95
8.	Jhansi	494235	32344	25068	31605	64572	1002	2058	20156	18176	299054	112.19
9.	Banda	801293	77781	47880	37127	43743	127	31712	50613	30781	481529	116.99
10.	Hanipur	716747	37299	26800	41746	36025	406	2202	42731	26386	503952	105.79
11.	Jalaun	456015	26501	16826	25360	9135	333	3255	18233	9134	347238	106.97
12.	Lalitpur	500583	66995	20798	25516	13767	7817	3241	31271	34805	172470	126.03
	Total	6332272	352992	334683	420662	514920	25668	89812	395140	230251	4068444	128.5
	Total Doab (Lac Hact.)	33.63	1.12	1.98	2.59	2.24	0.16	0.47	2.32	1.10	22.64	143.3
	Total Bundel. (Lac Hact.)	29.69	2.41	1.37	1.61	2.91	0.10	0.42	1.63	1.19	18.04	113.6
	Grand Total (Lac Hact.)	63.32	3.53	3.34	4.20	5.15	0.26	0.89	3.95	2.30	40.68	128.5

Sources:- Agriculture Statistics, 1979-80, Directorate of Agriculture (U.P.), Publications No. 68.

**TABLE : IX**  
**Average Agricultural Production (Q./Hectare)**

1979-80

S.No.	District	Rice	Wheat	Gram	Jowar	Sugarcane	Urd	Matar	Arhar	Masoor	G. Nut	Mustered Pulses	Irrigated Area In Percentage(Ha.)
1.	Agra	6.9	14.48	5.22	2.65	232.40	2.54	5.12	10.98	3.30	3.36	4.47	55.3
2.	Brahm	6.9	13.07	10.26	2.65	298.29	2.54	8.64	6.53	3.30	3.36	5.33	60.1
3.	Mainpuri	6.9	13.08	4.98	0.37	232.40	2.54	4.73	12.72	3.30	1.77	5.53	66.5
4.	Etawah	2.37	14.90	5.18	2.43	147.18	1.66	6.42	13.27	0.88	1.85	4.24	61.4
5.	Parrukhabad	2.37	14.74	4.11	1.58	287.17	1.66	4.09	9.33	0.88	1.85	4.67	53.1
6.	Kanpur	2.28	13.56	6.32	3.86	147.28	1.26	7.06	15.32	0.88	1.85	3.70	48.5
7.	Badaun	1.88	11.52	4.64	3.98	298.30	2.97	4.55	11.58	2.01	4.94	2.79	43.6
8.	Jhansi	.12	7.84	2.97	.48	238.67	0.61	3.98	2.65	2.11	3.90	2.79	22.0
9.	Banda	.12	4.01	1.68	.19	238.67	0.61	3.98	4.60	2.17	3.90	2.79	13.4
10.	Mamirpur	.12	5.83	2.52	0.72	238.67	0.73	3.98	7.70	0.96	3.90	2.79	10.5
11.	Jalaun	.12	10.00	3.52	1.74	238.67	0.61	3.98	15.84	5.41	3.90	2.79	18.1
12.	Lalitpur	.12	6.79	5.20	4.93	238.67	0.09	3.98	7.93	2.69	3.90	2.79	17.6
Total Average		2.51	10.81	4.70	2.39	236.37	1.48	5.42	9.87	2.32	3.03	3.83	39.17
Total State		5.10	13.14	5.20	2.44	273.17	1.63	5.76	9.94	3.57	3.90	3.92	46.7

Source: UP. Agricultural Statistics, Directorate office, Publication No. 68, January 1980, Lucknow.

The crop intensity percentage in Doab (143.3%) is higher than Bundelkhand (113.6%). Agricultural average production Quintal per Hectare of rice, wheat, gram, Jowar, Sugarcane, pulses and oil contents is higher in Doab as seen in the table: IX.

#### FRAGMENTATION OF HOLDINGS

The most prominent feature of the rural scene is a large number of small holdings. As per the agriculture census figures available in 1976-77, 1516.0 (Thousands) operational holdings in Doab districts and about 364.3 (Thousands) in Bundelkhand region were less than one hectare and 631.2 thousands land holdings in both the regions are between one to two hectare.

TABLE X

S.NO.	District	District wise No. of Holdings by Size (Class of Holding in thousand & size of holding in Hectare)							
		.5-Below	.5-1	1-2	2-3	3-4	4-5	5-10	10-Above
1.	Agra	76.0	45.9	49.90	25.5	13.7	8.1	10.1	1.8
2.	Btah	137.1	68.3	59.9	21.1	9.6	5.0	5.6	0.7
3.	Mainpuri	146.4	70.5	57.6	19.9	9.0	4.4	5.2	0.7
4.	Btawah	124.1	64.2	55.0	22.6	9.5	5.2	5.9	0.7
5.	Parrukha.	183.5	74.4	56.0	20.1	8.4	4.4	5.2	0.7
6.	Kanpur	182.2	85.9	76.3	29.3	14.3	7.8	8.8	1.1
7.	Budaun	167.9	83.6	72.4	27.9	13.2	7.1	8.0	1.0
8.	Jhansi	50.6	42.6	62.1	34.6	19.5	12.2	22.6	6.9
9.	Banda	66.6	53.0	54.2	25.8	14.3	9.5	19.6	8.1
10.	Maujpur	42.8	38.3	50.9	28.3	15.3	10.5	21.6	7.9
11.	Jalaun	40.6	29.8	36.9	18.6	11.5	8.0	16.2	3.8
12.	Lalitpur*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total		1225.8	654.5	631.2	274.1	138.3	82.2	128.8	33.4

\* Lalitpur was not a separate District at that time.  
Source: Agriculture census U.P., 1976-77.

There is further division of the holdings. Each holding consists of one or more fragments and each fragment may have one or more than one plot, thus making cultivation highly inefficient and uneconomic.

#### PERCAPITA OUTPUT

Taking any economic indicator, Bundelkhand and Doab regions are equally backward. For instance, in 1971 the value of agriculture production or per capita output from commodity producing sector (at 1970-71 price) was Rs. 373.75 for Bundelkhand and Rs. 343.0 for Doab distt. The state average itself was about 50% of the national average. In the last 10 years there has been a marginal improvement but mostly to the urban areas of these regions.

TABLE XI

Districtwise PerCapita Output From Commodity Producing Sectors  
(At 1970-71 Prices and Estimate at Current Prices)

S.NO.	DISTRICT	1970-71	1975-76	1976-77
1.	Agra	276	345	456
2.	Btah	390	477	520
3.	Mainpuri	326	440	562
4.	Btawah	351	430	451
5.	Parrukhabad	338	498	518
6.	Kanpur	341	499	588
7.	Nadaun	369	432	558
8.	Jhansi	338	418	509
9.	Banda	422	498	578
10.	Nainpur	414	435	600
11.	Jalaun	321	451	575
12.	Lalitpur	-	436	594
<b>Total Average Rs.</b>		<b>332.16</b>	<b>448.25</b>	<b>542.41</b>

Source: Statistical Abstract, U.P., 1976-77.

While considering the staggering number of non worker population in the two regions, we have to look at the availability of alternative occupations. There are only two districts, Agra and Kanpur which are industrialized, but the rest of area including Bundelkhand have not worthwhile industrial units. Apart from the organised industries, there are also household industries which are generally developed around the towns or cities. In 1977 Registered factories and working factories are given below:

TABLE XII

No. of Registered Factories and Labourers Employed (1977)

S.NO.	District	Registered Factories	Working Factories	Daily Average No. of Labourers
1.	Agra	627	601	21731
2.	Brahm	18	17	1000
3.	Mainpuri	42	41	3083
4.	Etawah	59	59	965
5.	Parrukhbad	34	32	531
6.	Kanpur	632	625	64920
7.	Baguan	14	13	349
8.	Jhansi	32	32	8671
9.	Lalitpur			
10.	Banda	6	5	128
11.	Jalaun	2	2	NA.
12.	Hanirpur	1	1	80
Total		1469	1430	101461

Source: Statistical Abstract, U.P., 1977-78, Lucknow.

Per capita consumption of electricity is widely recognised as an important economic indicator and here again the position of rural electrification is very poor. The number of electrified villages in which electricity is used for any purpose is not laudable.

TABLE XIII

Districtwise No. of Electrified Villages

S. No.	District	Electrified Villages	Electricity for any use	No. of Electrified Karijan Basti.
1.	Agra	187	472	133
2.	Brahm	144	572	118
3.	Mainpuri	132	424	146
4.	Bawali	101	414	269
5.	Parrukhabad	262	865	362
6.	Kanpur	144	512	214
7.	Budaun	265	591	148
8.	Khansi	114	144	169
9.	Banda	198	273	178
10.	Hanirpur	139	178	90
11.	Jalaun	141	271	185
12.	Lalitpur	48	91	47
Total		1875	4710	2059

Source: Statistical Abstract, U.P., 1977-78, Lucknow.

### TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATION

Transport and communication play a vital role in economic, social and industrial development of the country.

K.K. Dewett states the importance of transport and communication in these words,

"The history of civilization is the history of transport. The road makers carry torch of light. The lead in a civilization follows. Homestead, hamlets, villages, towns and cities follow in their wake—one after the other, the track changes into a road, unmatted at first and then matted. Trade develops unifying the world. In fact, the progress of man corresponds with the evolution of the means of transport. Not only are goods carried by these means but the cultural, social and moral development of a country directly depends upon them. They diffuse knowledge, remove prejudices and destroy ignorance."<sup>1</sup>

The position of surfaced roads in these districts to in comparison of their vast area is not satisfactory. The development of transport depends mainly on two factors, the physical factors and the economic development. In Bundelkhand both the factors have their influence. The presence of rivers, forests and hills are the main hindrances in the development of transport facilities and, thus, Bundelkhand is underdeveloped as compared to Doab.

The villages of these regions are not well connected by rail or road as shown in table XIV. There is no blame for

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1. Quoted By Saxena, S.P., 1978: Land Use in the District of Mainpuri, Ph.D. Thesis, Agra University.

unadequate transport facilities in dacoits infested regions of Uttar Pradesh because whole of the states has poor maintenance of roads. In 1979-80 surfaced roads length (maintained by P.W.D.) and total road length per lac of population are 43 Kms. and 57 Kms. respectively while total surfaced road length per thousand Sq. Kms. of the area is 201 Kms. in the States of Uttar Pradesh.

TABLE XIV

No. of Villages According to Distance from Pucca Road(1976).

S.NO.	District	Surfaced Road(Km.)	No. of Villages with R.Station	Bus Stop	Pucca at Above Road	Pucca Road 1km.but at 3 Kms. at less than or above than 1km,3 Kms.	Pucca Road
1.	Agra	726	19	92	253	352	577
2.	Brahm	527	22	101	286	108	830
3.	Mainpuri	518	20	97	285	291	810
4.	Bawali	504	14	98	248	398	795
5.	Zarrukhia	420	36	122	353	348	925
6.	Kanpur	755	54	150	360	399	1139
7.	RaeBganj	455	23	105	267	316	1231
8.	Chansi	987	13	79	136	141	482
9.	Lalitpur		10	91	124	83	474
10.	Banda	659	23	96	158	211	835
11.	Nainpur	658	4	80	155	124	651
12.	Jalaun	589	5	106	228	157	572
<b>Total</b>		<b>6798</b>	<b>243</b>	<b>1219</b>	<b>2843</b>	<b>2928</b>	<b>9311</b>

Source: Statistical Abstract, U.P., 1977-78, Lucknow.

If agriculture and industry are the body and bones of a national organism, communications are its nerves. Table XV presents the postal service, Banking facilities, and health services etc. important amenities centre in the villages of districts, which are not adequate according to the number of villages and population inhibited in these areas.

TABLE XV

No. of Villages According to Distance From Amenities Centre

S.No.	District	Post Offices	Comm. Banks	Ayurvedic Dispensaries	Allopathic Dispensaries	Family Planning Centres
1.	Agra	277	18	24	12	22
2.	Brahm	276	24	16	19	19
3.	Mainpuri	268	15	26	20	50
4.	Btawah	295	28	45	33	96
5.	Farrukhabad	237	27	44	25	34
6.	Kanpur	339	47	55	35	49
7.	Budaun	284	19	21	24	42
8.	Jhansi	157	7	14	13	22
9.	Banda	232	6	18	36	17
10.	Hanipur	208	19	25	25	42
11.	Jalaun	197	13	28	11	47
12.	Lalitpur	141	8	9	9	12
<b>Total</b>		<b>2911</b>	<b>231</b>	<b>325</b>	<b>270</b>	<b>452</b>

Source: Statistical Abstract, Uttar Pradesh, 1977-78

Lucknow.

### THE EARLY SETTLERS

When the disturbances that followed the death of Harsha in 647 A.C. had settled down many new kingdoms. Most of them were formed and ruled by Rajputs. Most of the great Rajput families came into prominence during the eight and ninth century. At the same time many Rajputs clans moved due to raids from North Western invaders. Tomars of Delhi, Chandelas of Khajuraho as well as Kachhwahas of Marwar and Gwalior all begin their legies genealogies from that time.<sup>1</sup>

Some of the early settlers in these regions settled either by clearing a forest area or by defeating an already existing villages or tribe. Inhabitants of the two regions are predominantly Hindus-Brahman, Kshattriyas and Yadvas constitute the largest population in Doab as well as in Bundelkhand area. Though, Rajputs are a little lesser in number than the Chamars in Bundelkhand, yet by virtue of their economic, political, educational dominance and ritual superiarity they seek control over lower castes and others.

Some of the prominent settlers of these regions were Rajputs, Mishad or Mallahas, Ahira, Meo, Gujars and other castes and tribes:

Rajputs:- After the death of Harsha Vardhan, the dark period

1. Crooke, William 1975: The Tribes and Castes of North Western India. vol. V, p. 412, Cosmo Publications, Delhi.

of Indian history starts, when different Rajput clans moved towards Agra, Etawah, Murena, Bhind, Bharatpur to establish their colonies. Later on, because of repeated invasions of Muslimes in A.D. 1190, and of Chauhan's regime, the numerous Rajput clans migrated towards the South East who displacing the neos and other aborigines eventually dominated the social and political life in the area under study.

Chauhans:- Though the early history of the Rajput's settlement in the area is shruded with mystery. Yet it is certain that among the Rajputs, Chauhans were the earliest occupants of the region. There is speculation that they settled down along the bank of the river Chambal in the district Agra under the leadership of Manik Rai, a prince from Ajmer.<sup>1</sup> After the fall of Delhi and Kannauj in 1198 A.D. they migrated towards Etawah.<sup>2</sup> Towards the end of 12th century they occupied the entire territory in the northern eastern part of the region. Chhakar Nagar (Etawah) was their major clan centre, from where they moved outwards.

1. Tod, Col. J., 'Annals and Antiquities of Rajput vol. I. p.. quoted from Prasad, R., 1977, Ravine Settlement (Rural only) of the lower Chambal, Ph.D. Thesis p. 56, Agra University.

2. Drake Brockman: 1911: Etawah; A Gazetteer of the District of United Provine of Agra and Oudh, vol.XI, p. 127, Allahabad.

Tomer Rajput:- This clan migrated towards Agra for Delhi about the middle of the twelfth century.<sup>1</sup> They crossed the Chambal and defeated Meos. Upto the 14th century they occupied whole of the Ambah region called Tomargarh.

Bhadauria:- A sub clan of Chauhan occupied Ater and Bhadaware in Bhind (M.P.) as their major centre. After sometimes Raja Raut defeated a freebooter Hatiya- the Chief of the Meo and established their rule at Mat Kant (Agra). Later on they spread over near Agra and Etawah.

Parihar:- Parihar Rajputs migrated from a place named Pachnada- a confluence point of five rivers Yamuna, Chambal, Kunwari, Sindh and Pahuj and settled at Raja Khera (Bharatpur). From there they settled in Bah (Agra) displacing Meos in 13th century.

Sengar:- This clan entered the eastern part of the region during 13th century in Etawah. Later on they scattered in Doab region.

Ahirs:- Ahirs are originally a pastoral community but now they are good agriculturists. Shah, Mainpuri and Farrukhabad are dominated by this caste.

Meo:- Meo were the earliest settlers in Agra and Etawah. They were the turbulent people of Northern Alwar, Mewat, Bharatpur and nearby regions. In the district of Agra, Matkant and other villages mark the site of their settlement. They were the notorious rebels and source of continuous nuisance to the

1. Drake Brodrman, D.L. : op cit. p. 127.

inhabitants as well as the local rulers of the area.<sup>1</sup>

Nishadas:- These freedom loving people were the earliest settlers of Indo-Gangatic valley. They still live in the ravines of the river Yamuna in the districts of Agra, Etawah, Banda and also nearby districts.

Rohillas:- A Pathan tribe who have settled in Rohilkhand (Bareilly), tract of United Province. They derive their name from Roh. The word Roh like 'Koh' means a mountain and Rohilla, therefore signifies a high lander. The Rohilla Pathan occupied Rohilkhand in 18th century.<sup>2</sup>

Systematic colonization of Bundelkhand region started only after the rise of the Chandol Rajputs about 11th A.D. Previously to that it was settled in isolated patches by certain tribes such as Kols, Gonds and Kushwaha etc. It is probably that the oldest settlers of these regions were the Saharias, Dhangies, Khanjars, Lodhies, Yadavas, Kurmi, Kachies, Chandals, Brahmins, and Rajputs who undoubtedly settled here before the invasion of the Bundelas.<sup>3</sup>

1. Sharma, S.L. 1982, "Conversion, Continuity and Change: A Study of the Neo Community", in the Journal of Sociological Studies, vol.I, p. 94, Jodhpur.

2. Drake-Brockman, D.L. 1911: op cit. p. 128.

3. Census of N.W.P. of India vol.I p. 98, 1867, Allahabad,

quoted from Pathak S.P. (1977 p. 188) Socio-economic History of Jhansi District, Ph.D. Thesis, Agra University.

Bundelas, Panwars, Parihars and Bhunderas who had been the rulers of some portions of Bundelkhand region, lost their old power and glory during the British rule.<sup>1</sup>

Excriminal Tribes:- Kanjars like Sanoria and Chanderbedis residing in Agra, Bharatpur, Datia, Jhansi and Chhatarpur (M.P.) are a professional thieves. Keles, Gonds and Kushwaha and Sansiyas as criminal in upper Doab had no alternative of livelihood except dacoities.<sup>2</sup>

#### HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE AREA

It is rather unfortunate that, until recently the study of social life of the people had generally been neglected with view of historical perspective. History studies the political aspiration as much as their philosophical stipulations, aesthetic values and social behaviour. The study of historical life of the people of a particular age forms an significant aspect of social life. It gives a deeper insight into the problem than the present study can afford to provide. Hence, in order to gain a proper perspective of the problem in these regions, a brief reference to the historical background would not be out of place.

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1. Ibid. pp. 188-89.

2. Russell, P.V. & Mira Lal, 1975: Tribes and Castes of Central India vol. III, p. 283, Rajdhani Book Centre, Delhi.

The early history of both the regions may be closely linked with each other because nothing definite is known before Harshavardhan. During the post vedic period the territory of Panchals roughly corresponded to the present district of Bareilly, Budaun, Farrukhabad and adjoining districts of United Province.<sup>1</sup> It was in this territory that varnashram and caste system assumed definite shape and Brahmins attained a place of superiority in the structure of society.

During the Buddhist age Ayodhya, Sravasti and Sankisa (Farrukhabad) rose to prominence but the towns of Mathura and Banaras retained their importance as centre of religious thought and culture. The stupa at Sarnath and Vidisha speak of the Ashokan inscription. Inscriptions of Kusen kings, like Kanishka, Huisika and Vasudeva have been found at Mathura and the Padham in Mainpuri. Gupta period is considered the most glorious period in Indian history. There are many monuments found at Mathura,<sup>2</sup> Hiuen T-Sang has given a sketch of the land which showed that the Doab region was very fertile and rich and the people were prosperous in the seventh century A.D., for instance, writing of Mathura, he says, "The country produces a fine species of cotton fibre, and also yellow gold. The climate is warm to

1. Munsi, K.M. 1971: The History and Culture of the Indian

people: The Vedic Age, p. 257, Bharatiya  
Vidya Bhavan, Bombay.

2. Bhanu, Dharam, 1954: History and Administration of the  
Province, Agra, p. 9, Ph.D. Thesis Agra University.

a degree. The manners of the people are soft and complacent. They seems to prepare secret stone of religious merit. They seem virtue and honour learning.<sup>1</sup>

Throughout the Sultanate period of the territory that in future comprised the Mughal province of Agra was almost invariably a part of Turkish empire. Right from the time of Muslim invasions to the end of Lodhi Dynasty, Mewat, the Doab and Awadh continued to be the focus of attention on account of their resources and the turbulent character of the people. Besides being the capital of the empire, Agra became the headquarter of one of the province known as Agra Subha of Akbar's dominion. It remained the province of the country till it was conquered by the British in 1803 A.D.

The Mughal province of Agra extended from Delhi to Allahabad and Kannauj to Chandeli. In the second half of the 17th century the Doab region had to face with a powerful Jat rising due to weaken of the Government and afterwards to the policy of religious intolerance pursued by Aurangzeb. Jat history constitute a fascinating phase in the annals of medieval central India during 1707 to 1739 A.D. Driven to arms in deep discontent the ferocious Jats rose again ultimately setting at naught the imperial authority in the province of Agra. Jat chiefs withhold the revenue during the war of succession among the sons of Shahjahan. Nilaknath Nagar, Deputy of Governor of Agra who attempted to supress the Jat turbulence was defeated

1. Bhanu, Dharam. op cit. p. 9.

and killed by them on Sept. 26, 1721.<sup>1</sup> In the post Aurangzeb period the expansionist Jats were interested in wiping out the Mughal Empire.

After the death of Aurangzeb disruptive forces came to the fore front. "The Mughal crown was tossed to and fro like a shuttle cock among the contending parties. Puppet Kings appeared and disappeared from the political stage, in quick succession.<sup>2</sup> With the succession of faint hearted emperors on the throne, power slipped into the hands of petty nobles and a mad race for political power followed. The invasion of Nadirshah in 1731 A.D. was equally harmful to Delhi and Agra. The sacking below to the tottering throne was given by Nadirshah. The sack of Delhi by Nadirshah stripped the empire of its last vestiges of glory and prestige and ended the empire to a vegetable cipher.<sup>3</sup>

Ahmad Shah Abdali invaded India for third time in 1756-57 A.D. and his general Jahankhan plundered the city of Agra. Abdali's troops swooped down on the imperial capital without meeting any effective resistance on the way. On the eve of return from India, Abdali appointed the Ruhilla chief, Najib-uddaulah as his deputy here in India, and this excited the jealousy of Ghaziuddin Khan, who invited Marathas.<sup>4</sup>

1. Dwivedi, G.C. 1971: The Role of Jats in the History of the Mughal Empire, pp. 290-94, Ph.D.Thesis, Agra University.

2&3. Mirza, K.M. 1970: Muslim Society in North India During First Half of Nineteenth century, Ph.D.Thesis, Agra Uni.

4. Bhanu, Dharam, op cit. p. 10.

Infact, in eighteenth century Muslim aristocracy was rotten to the core. 'The rottenness showed itself in the form of military and political helplessness. Royalty was helplessly depraved or imbecile; nobles were selfish and shortsighted; corruption, inefficiency and treachery disgraced all branches of the public service.'<sup>1</sup>

The Marathas, now at the height of their power, captured Lahore and Punjab. But soon they were driven out and led to the complete defeat at Panipat by Durrani in 1759 A.D. After the battle of Panipat, India was once more in a state of confusion. There was no native power in the land strong enough to keep order. The Marathas fought amongst themselves and against the neighbouring states, and the Afghans in the north west were always a source of danger to the peace of this regions. The emperor was a mere doll, a shuttle cock in the game between the Afghans and Marathas. But soon the place of Marathas was taken by the Jats and they extended their power in the middle of the Doab from Balmgarh to Kalpi.<sup>2</sup>

In 1772 A.D. the Marathas restored Shah Alam II to the throne of Delhi and reoccupied whole of Doab. However, ruler of this region was Mahadji Sindha from 1784 to 1790 A.D. meanwhile, the Sikh were also making incursions into Ganga-Yamuna Doab. Fate turned against the Marathas when Nana Parnavees

1. Sarker, J.N. Fall of the Mughal Empire vol. IV pp. 343-44.  
quoted by Mirza, K.M. 1970, Muslim Society  
in North India During First Half of 19th Century  
ph.D. Thesis Agra University, p. 22.

2. Ibid.... vol. II p. 336 quoted by Dharm Bhawan (1954:110).

breathed his last on 30th March, 1800. In 1803 A.D. the Maratha's rule over the territory lasted for about 18 years when British defeated Daulat Rao Sindhia. He had to give up most fertile part of this region.

Bundelkhand:- Nothing definite is known about the early history of Bundelkhand. The early history of Bundelkhand as gleaned through the vedic and old literature presents a very ambiguous account. The region was known at different times by different names as Chedidesa, Darsana, Chedirashtra or Chedi Janapad. Huen-Tsang, mentions the tract of the country as Jejahauti. It was the part of the Maurya empire till Ashoka's death about 232 B.C., then it was probably overrun by Pushaya Mitra.<sup>1</sup> The area certainly fell within the kingdom ruled over by Harshabardhan from 606 to 648 A.D. After his death a period of confusion ensued, a number of petty states were Governed by local Rajas.<sup>2</sup>

From the ninth century onwards, the region came under the rule of Gurjar Pratihars succeeded by the Chandel Rajputs. Mean while the Chandel power was being consolidated at Khajuraho and Mahoba, the power of Kannauj was weakened by the attacks of the king Yashovarman Chandel between 940 and 950 A.D.<sup>3</sup>

The Chandel Rajputs were good warrior and administrator. They constructed strong forts of Ajaygarh and Kalinjar, noble

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1. Drake - Brockman, D.L.1909: A Gazetteer: Banda p.157, Allahabad.

2. Ibid.... p. 158.

3. Ibid..... A Gazetteer, Jalaun, vol. XXV, pp. 115-16, Allahabad.

temples at Khajurano and excellent irrigation work in Bundelkhand. Later on Parmal Deo, the 20th ruler in succession fought many battles with ruler of Ajmer and Delhi. Prithvi Raj Chauhan of Delhi, however, defeated Chandol armies at Sirshawaz on the bank of Pahaj river. The disastrous fight which took place there left the way open for the advance on Mahoba. On behalf of Parmal, Alha and Udal Brothers fought bravely but they were ineffective.<sup>1</sup> After this defeat Chandol King set up their head-quarter at Kalinjar.

After the fall of Chauhan rule the country was exposed to anarchy and to Muslim invasions until the close of the 14th century. At the end of 12th century Bundelkhand also lost its freedom after the capture of Delhi and of Kannauj in 1202 A.D. to Qutbuddin Aibak. The Chandol power was crushed. Though so they soon after appeared to have regained the fort of Kalinjar but they have lost the past glory and freedom. The last glimpse of romantic history of Chandolas was sparked by Princess Durgavati.

In fact, with the fall of Chandolas as all order disappeared from Bundelkhand never to returned until the British conquest. The region was fragmented in to small principalities ruled by the Ahirs, Dangis and the Rajputs. Simultaneously the region resumbly fall under the sultanate at the end of 13th century. Later a large part of the territory fall in to the hands of the Gonds of Mandla. But in the second half of the sixteenth century the region was recaptured by the Muslims.

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1. Drake, - Brockman, D.L., 1909: A Gazetteer: Hamirpur, vol.XXIX,

During the rule of Akbar and his two immediate successors, no large movement of revolt or invasion on its part is recorded. But this period witnessed the slow rise to power of Bundelas. Infact, the struggle led by Bir Singh Deo, pursued by Jujhar Singh and kept up by Champatral and his son Chhatrasala.

After the death of Aurangzeb, Bangash Nawab of Farrukhabad tried to suppress the Bundela Chiefs. In 1717 A.D. the second campagin started and finally ended disastrously with the surrender of the Nawab in 1729 A.D.<sup>1</sup>. Bundela took a written agreement from him never to attack. Thus, the imperial athonity ended for ever in eastern Bundelkhand.

Chhatrasal restored to his possession by Maratha help and to make Marathas interested in its preservation. He bequeathed one third of his dominion to Peshwa Bajirao on the condition that his hiers and successors should be maintained by the Marathas in possession of the rest. Now the Bundelkhand was under the rule of Marathas. After the death of Chhatrasal in 1731 A.D. the Bundelkhand was devived into small principalities of Marathas and Bundelas. After the treaty of Bassien the territory of Peshwa in Bundelkhand was ceded to the British.

#### EMERGENCE OF THE BRITISH EAST INDIA COMPANY

Of all the European trading companies established in India only British East India Company was destined the race for

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i. Ibid..... p. 141.

political domination of the country. The battle of Plassey (1757 A.D.) marks the begining of the process as king maker in Bengal. The defeat of the Mughal troops in the battle of Buxar in 1765 A.D. enabled it to obtained from the emperor the Dewani or the right of administer the revenue of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.

The Marathas, though, devided among selves, remained the only source of anxiety to British in the Northern India. But after the second Maratha war in 1803-5 A.D., this barrier also removed. Aitchison remarks, "All the sovereign rights of the Peshwa in Bundelkhand were finally ceded to the British Government on the extinction of the Peshwa's power in 1817."<sup>1</sup>

In the early days of its rule, the East India Company did not take interest in much keeping peace and order in its territory except collecting the land revenue and other taxes. People suffered due to perpetual danger from plunderers and robbers. The political conditions which raged on the edge of anarchy gave further impetus and the spread of the bane of dacoity, thugee among the commoners. The society had no check or control over the practitioners of the evil morally or legally. Prostitution, Sodomy, and so many other evils are prevailing in the contemporary society.

The attitude of company changed slowly in the begining of 19th century when company had its firm hold on Indian soil. During the time of Hastings the home authority turned his attention

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1. Aitchison, C.U., 1876: Treaties, Engagements, and Sanads relating to Indian and Neighbouring Countries, vol. II, Calcutta.

to the anarchy prevailed in central India. There the Marathas, the Pathans, the Pindaries, the Thugs were making hell on the earth. Bentinck is probably best remembered for his social reforms. In 1829 A.D. he abolished the practice of sati and thuggee. The thugs were an ancient society of murderers. Thuggee was completely crushed by Col. Sleeman. The officer who took the most prominent part in the destruction of these thug-gangs.

With regards to internal affairs, Dalhousie started the doctrine of lapse. In this way the company obtained possession of Satara, Jaitpur, Baghat, Udaipur, Jhansi and Nagpur. In addition to the actual annexation of territory the Governor General swept away many sovereigns who had royal little but no lands to govern. The result was that many petty states were confiscated by British Company. The jagir of Bulht Singh was confiscated in 1841 A.D. for the rebellion of above jagirdar. Aitchison states, "Of the Bundelkhand states, Jalaun, Jhansi, Jaitpur and Khudaa have lapsed to ... by British Government. The states of Shahgarh and Banpur were also confiscated on account of the rebellion of the chiefs in 1857."<sup>1</sup>

#### AFTER INDEPENDENCE

Many far reaching changes occurred in the social structure of Indian society after Independence. A democratic set up based with equality, secularism and socialism formed the basic principles of the new governing philosophy. The adoption

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1. Aitchison, C.U., 1876: op cit. . p. 231.

of the constitution in 1950, abolition of the Zamindari system and the introduction of a series of measure aimed at land reforms, jeopardised the socio-economic interests of dominant castes. The Panchayat system and electoral politics dealt a fatal blow to the supremacy of higher castes as they were closely bound up with feudal system. Also they were traditionally too hide bound to keep pace with the rapid changes in society. Whenever a society undergoes a process of radical change in its socio-economic structure, it generates violence at least during the period of transition in those who stand to lose most.

**CHAPTER IV**

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**NATURE OF DACOITY**

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## NATURE OF DACOITY

Dacoity is not a uniquely Indian characteristic. It has existed in some form or another, in all parts of the world. Yet, the recorded history of central India is evidently pointed out that the area has been the happy hunting ground of Thugs, Pindaries, Budnak dacoits, Frontier robbers and free booters for ages. The professional thieves and criminal tribes like sonories, Chanderbories and kanjars found in Bundelkhand and nearby regions for a long time. The people of Chambal, Doab and Bundelkhand including adjoining areas of these regions have a long history of rebelliousness against the Delhi, Agra, Gwalior and Awadh rulers. They continued to rebel against the authority of these states but with no success, with the changing circumstances and time the spirit of revolt has been converted in the life style of a brigand or Baghi.

This history mix has given a peculiar prestige to dacoity and it is probably in this tradition that dacoits are referred to as bagnis (rebels) and not daku (dacoits). The long spell of feudal rule in the area has also contributed to the strengthening of the institution of dacoity. Due to the historical origin of the problem outlaws in these regions are not stigmatised in their own communities. On the other hand, they are bestowed the honorific titles of Dev, Raja, Netaji, Mukhiya, Mama, Baba, Dasyuraja or Dasyusmarata etc.<sup>1</sup> Long before Devi Singh in Bundelkhand had the same Robinhood reputation

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1. Saptahik Hindustan, p. 11, (10 Jan. 1982, New Delhi).

the reinforcement of influence of dacoits.<sup>1</sup> Besides it, the remote villagers in ravines and jungles have no alternative for their security except to provide the food and shelter for dacoits. This societal acceptance help the dacoits to reign over the area with the result that the long arms of law can do harm to these outlaws. As Kapoor observes about the law and order situation in the ravineous villagers, "The villagers in this tract are mostly inaccessible, no doubt, for this very reason, the long arms of law often fails to reach the law breaker."<sup>2</sup>

Organised Crimes:- In the present context recent concern over the rising volume of daring dacoities accompanying violence and wanton destruction of life and property, has caused considerable anxiety to the people as well as to the state Governments of central India. Mass murders committed by organised dacoit gangs with ferocious rapacity ominously present in the countryside once again a sudden spurt in crime. The days have gone, when banditry was considered eulogised profession for some of warrior races inhabiting the Chambal region or nearby area, now the people have taken to dacoity as a whole time as well as part time profession.

A dacoit gang rules the roost by violence and terror. A gang makes its criminal debut by a savage display of cruelty, molesting women, ransacking whole villages and leaving behind

1. See, The Incident of Badanpur, 13.11.79, Mainpuri.

2. Kapoor, Bishan, 1960: Bad Men of Bad Lands p.1, Ram Prasad & Sons, Agra.

a gory trail of multiple murders.<sup>1</sup> Besides it, kidnapping is becoming the common modus operandi of the present day dacoit gangs. Not only the persons are dragged out of their homes but the school going children, males and females working in the fields and the people going out of their villages are kidnapped for ransom. The job of kidnapping is a favourite and easy tool of dacoits because no one dare communicate to police the substance of negotiations for ransom as the kidnapped person may be killed by the dacoits. The overwhelming sense of insecurity bred in the dacoits infested regions is so profound that men dare not venture out of their homes to run their agricultural pursuits, during evening and night hours.<sup>2</sup>

It is observed that dacoit gangs establish their own code of law over their operational areas, create conditions of awe and terror and even sometimes they commit the heinous crimes to gain notoriety, which creates terror and a nerve shattering fear among the villagers of countryside. Actually, increasing cruelty of a gang is directly proportional to the amount taken of ransom for kidnapping. This helps them to create influence over the mass to extort money also. The gangs terrorise the inhabitants of these areas by swooping down to loot, murder and kidnap individuals for ransom. Travellers, truck convoys of valuable goods and passenger buses on the highways are plundered with impunity and even a slight opposition

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1. Dharmayug: .... p. 15, 30 May, 1982, New Delhi.

2. Singhal, B.P., 1982, Control and Eradication of Decoity in An Organised Form, p. 13, Work Shop, Regional Decoity Problem And Its Eradication, Fatehgarh.

is dealt with severe results.<sup>1</sup> It is common practice seasoned dacoits to amputate a victim's limbs, or sever his nose, ears, tongue, and genital organs etc.

Police informers and witnesses are the sore enemy of dacoits.<sup>2</sup> Generally these are met with disastrous consequences. Dacoits try to hostile the witness against the cases of their fellow members in the prosecution.<sup>3</sup> Protection is awarded to those who pay the tribute demanded and provide food and shelter to them. Extortions are generally wrung out from traders, owners of buses and trucks, contractors and businessmen inhabiting the operational area of a dacoit gang.

Institutional Form:- Dacoity is a peculiar crime forming a blight on society of rural India. The menace is very complex and labyrinthine in nature. Many diverse factors account for this perennial problem in these regions. It has features of organised group, having either a definite number of members or specific membership, roles a consensus of expected norms and a leader who supplies logical directions for gang activities. It is harboured and supported from petty criminals to white collar elite - like village leaders, Members of Legislative Assemblies, advocates, and other influential persons who provide a wide range of harbouring in one way or other. Dacoits find in powerful sections of the community if not active support at

1. Blitz..... p. 14, 29/10/ 1983, Calcutta-Bombay.

2. See, The Mass Massacre of Kunwarpur Village, 2.5.81, Etah.

3. See, Rampura Massacre, 27.6.82, Mainpuri.

least passive sympathy for organised violence and pillage on Harijans. This has had disastrous results in these areas where social attitudes towards crime are already different.

It is a matter of common experiences that to help dacoits yields immediate dividends in rural areas while aid to police is bound to be risky. For a guard can not be posted to protect every villager.

The modern context of organised dacoity is a legacy of an old legend of traditional Indian banditry. Although, much of its traditional content and modus operandi has been lost, the basic structure has remained to great extent intact. We do not only hear and read in the press about armed dacoities being committed almost every day, but also mass massacre frequently. The figures given in the table XVI do not however, tend to comedown despite the best efforts of governmental as well as social agencies.

An analysis of dacoity cases reported in Indian States during period of 1971-78 evidently show that among the Indian states and Union territory, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and West Bengal are highly infested with dacoity. The state of Uttar Pradesh topped the list of dacoity cases in number as well as in volume per lac of population.

According to dacoities reported in Crime in India, there is no uniform distribution of dacoity in the districts of Uttar Pradesh but this is very much striking to note that the districts of Doab - Agra, Etawah, Etah, Mainpuri, Farrukhabad

and Kanpur have a good number of dacoity cases while the region of Bundelkhand does not show the equality in crimes. In this region the districts of Banda, Hamirpur and Jalaun are more dacoits infested than Jhansi and Lalitpur.

TABLE XVII  
Districtwise Dacoity in Dacoits Infested Regions of U.P.

S.NO.	District	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978
1.	Agra	280	258	220	241	271
2.	Etah	219	303	296	294	260
3.	Mainpuri	272	254	227	191	292
4.	Etawah	177	212	177	294	146
5.	Farrukhabad	106	148	125	135	195
6.	Kanpur	222	221	232	237	227
7.	Badaun	90	104	104	120	78
8.	Jhansi	90	68	82	40	52
9.	Banda	79	66	77	109	90
10.	Hamirpur	59	62	92	96	172
11.	Jalaun	84	62	59	68	57
12.	Lalitpur	N.A.	29	24	23	21

Source: Crime in India, 1974-78, New Delhi.

To understand the real nature of dacoity system we have concentrated on three main points:

- \* Individual dacoits, and the process of dacoitisation.

- \* What stands more important than the individual dacoits, is the structure of a gang and its functioning and,
- \* Extra and outer relations of a gang.

#### THE PROCESS OF DACOITISATION

The whole process which includes all above points from the commission of a dacoity to the acquisition of a dacoit character is a long process which may roughly term dacoitisation as the term used by Singh. "Dacoitisation is a process where individuals belonging to a given socio-cultural tradition resort to outlawry, adopts its criminal values and norms and reinforce them."<sup>1</sup>

It is evidently true that the ravines of Chambal Yamuna and its tributaries provide the ideal physiographic hideouts for fugitives from law, but dacoity, as we shall see, is not a manifestation of ecological or individual characteristics - biological or psychological. Although a product of multiplicity of factors including the psychological, it is by nature, origin and continuance largely a sociological concern.

Every society imposes a certain discipline and effort, a subordination of impulses and self interest to the common understandings, but there are always temptations and incentives

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1. Singh, R.G., 1981: Terror to Reform, Intellectual Book Corner,

The highest number of subject 20.98 percent came into dacoity after committing murder and dare not to go for justice. Feuds born of land disputes is the second major reason for 17.89 percent inmate in our sample. Another 13.83 percent gravitated to dacoity due to party politics and factionalism and 11.60 percent by association or close contact with dacoits already in the trade. In otherward, we may say about these respondents are rural outlaws or goondas who would be juvenile dilinquent if they were investigate during their adolescence. Ill socialisation is responsible for 9.37 percent inmates to be dacoits. And remaining 7.58 percent as counter offensive against stronger elements and police oppression is responsible for harbouring and deviant activities.

Insufferable economic factors cannot be lost sight of 5.80 percent of the interviewed dacoits were drawn to this profession because of poverty and unemployment. Lastly, a slight percentage about 2.6 percent of dacoits expressed the reason for this outlawry the dispute on females.

In most of the cases murders are committed emotionally and revengefully on the disputes of land, women, parental rivalries and so on. In the event of any disputes instead going to court the people take law into their own hands and decide the matter themselves at the point of a gun. Actually, it is a known fact that the procedure of justice is delayed and costly game. Everybody can not afford of police, lawyers and witnesses and even then, there is no guarantee of right justice. So generally the first offender absconds.

In somewhat a similar view Khan expresses, "The inhabitants of the valley do not straight way embark upon a dacoit career. It is usually preceded by less serious offences. In most of the cases, when named or checked by the police for some offences which may be mostly a minor one, they, the inhabitant of the valley, find it easier to jump into ravines than to face the court trail and absorb the sentence."<sup>1</sup>

The people, who are indulged in property and land dispute and rivalries, feel insecure. Such persons seek some false security to contact antisocial elements. To some extent they get it but with the disastrous result of this closeness they find themselves in the ambit of crime. Whenever they are oppressed by opposite party or inquired by police they abscond and thus, the absconders add the number 60 gangs already in the existence.

By the way an offender is caught and sent to jail, it is very clear that a reverse effect of imprisonment goes on the first hand offender. As Clemmer studies and finds that the inmate social system and culture impinge on the individual offender who is subjected to it.<sup>2</sup> Partisanship or factional quarrel is a potential cause of conflict in rural society and usually culminates in a chain of murders, factionalism is tanned

1. Khan, M.Z., 1981: Dacoity in Chambal Valley, p. 134, S.Chand & Com. Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi.

2. Hood, R. & Sparks, R., 1978: 'Key Issues in Criminology', p. 216, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London.

by people's search for power also, be it in a village council or in local and general elections, or in public gatherings, functions and meals, or to gain control other labour and the vacant plots of land in a village or by siphoning off the benefits, help and aids available under schemes of the Government at the cost of seeking the police on their opponents and enemies.

Day by day elections at all levels are a major source of wrangle in a village community. Once there was a total hold of upper castes like Brammans and Thakurs or some other dominant castes on the rural power structure, but after independence and with the abolition of zamindari system, the traditional rural power structure have undergone change to great extent. This results a race for capturing the power. The want to uplift their economical as well as social status through elections, but on other hand the traditional caste system is not too loose to allow them for social mobility. Thus, the race for power generates tension and hostility among the people in the villages. Besides it in contemporary Indian politics there is no respect for moral values or ideology. Singh also observes, "Caste and creed subvert the highest egalitarian principles, and voting peters <sup>1</sup> out in a dice throw in favour of a particular caste pocket".

In some cases different caste voting results into a caste conflict leading to murder and subsequent rivalry and

1. Singh, R.G., 1980: op cit... p. 42.

factional formation. A candidate who wins at the poll seeks the protection of bad elements of his own caste.<sup>1</sup> The magic of the ballot box is responsible for the creation of this type of gamut, in which the anti-social elements and politicians indulge.

Harbourers and police informers are the another source of conflict in the villages where they form faction against each other. It is found specially in the area of Etah, Mainpuri, Etawah and Farrukhabad that some influenced persons seek the help of criminals an even dacoits to suppress their opponent. Singhal observes, "The evil of these gang is not limited merely to the heinous offences. It goes further down to less heinous offences like forcible occupation of other's land, forcible crop cutting and tube well transformer theft by petty criminals whose strength lies not in their own selves but in the fact that they owe allegiance to the gang or police that reigns in that regions. A whole crop of oppressive bullies seems to have sprung up comparatively far off villages who belong to the same Caste as that of the gang or who have made it known in their areas that they enjoy the patronage of the reigning gang or the gang leader or are known harbourers of the same."<sup>2</sup>

Police informers play a positive role in dacoitisation as Shah observes that lulled into a false sense of security

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1. See, Murder case , Saptahik Hindustan, 10 Jan. 82, New Delhi.
2. Singhal, B.P.,1982: op cit.. p. 6.

by the police, the informers settle their individual and family score with those of the dacoits, and spark off a feud of revenge and attribution which devides the village into hostile camps and ends in a blood bath.<sup>1</sup> Friends and relations of the dead outlaw take to the hills after ruthlessly exterminating police informer.<sup>2</sup>

Caste rivalry is generally believed and adequately considered by previous scholars to be the most prominent cause in fostering this life style. Garg concludes "caste rivalry, property disputes, ordinary village feuds and faulty administration of justice by the police are all contributory factors."<sup>3</sup>

A still another cause for caste rivalry relates to gratis bond labour or low wages for manual work etc. After independence many far reaching changes occurred in our social structure. Though the oppressed castes have tried to revolt against the upper dominant castes even during the preindependence days<sup>4</sup>, but after freedom it has taken violent form. It leads to caste rivalries and caste tension. The major caste group of the village inflict several injustice on the minor caste group.

1. Times of India, 26.7.83, New Delhi.

2. Incident of Naktai Village, 1.5.81, Etah.

3. Garg, R.P., 1965: Dacoity Problem of the Chambal Valley,

p. 50, Gandhian Institute of Studies, Varanasi.

4. Singh, Yogendra, 1973: Modernisation of Indian Tradition,

p. 165, Thomson Press, (India) Ltd. Faridabad.

It creates enmity which grows on with the increasing harassments. The minor caste group tries to avoid the quarrel in the begining but when its patience exhausts, a serious fight breaks out. In the fight, sometimes, murders also take place, and the culprits abscond to escape from the clutches of law.<sup>1</sup>

Singh (1980: 42) concluded a different inference about the relation of outlawry and caste conflicts. He finds, "Caste has also relevance in sustaining the gang harbourer relationship and is of particular help in overriding the inducements of police rewards. But there is no evidence to believe that caste operations and feuds turn people into outlaws. Indeed, parties locked in a feud are quite often of the same caste and family".

TABLE XIX  
Castewise Distribution of Sample Dacoits

S.NO.	Caste	No. of Dacoits	Percentage
1.	Yadav	33	14.73
2.	Rajput	27	12.05
3.	Jatav	26	11.60
4.	Brahman	19	8.48
5.	Muslim	19	8.48
6.	Kachhi	13	5.80
7.	Lodhi	13	5.80
8.	Pasi	12	5.35
9.	Other Castes	62	27.67
	Total	224	99.97

1. See, The Case Studies of Dacoits.

Our findings, however, indicates that caste plays a dual role in the breeding and feeding the system. There are instances of inter castes as well as intracaste feuds and rivalries which foster the man to dacoitisation. The figure also countenance the caste oppression theory. In our sample 34.26 percent of sample dacoits came from higher echelons of the caste system while remaining 18 percent and 39.27 percent dacoits belong to backward and lower caste including scheduled castes and tribes. The causes behind a the oppression of a recessive caste by a dominant caste are mainly inequality, destitution and social injustice. Often the cumulative outcome of a succession of torturing events take the form of violence that leads to outlawry.

In fact, caste complex still plays an important role in the formation of gangs as well as the commission of dacoity. In the next chapter we will examine how caste sub culture grows and becomes a part of social order in the form of criminal activities which convert crime into an occupation especially among the martial castes.

Similarly on the economic point we find that there are also cases of exploitation by the moneyed may, privileged class of the petty peasants and the landless laboures which make them revengeful.<sup>1</sup> The spirit of revenge is launched and guided against the exploiting persons as symbol of social rebellion and since it is never organised though, organised it is, but

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1. Subbarao, S.N.; Swatantra Bharat, 15 July, 1982, Lucknow.

in a narrow sense of fulfilling certain desires, furthering vested interests, gaining wealth for themselves in the process gains in upper hand, once the process of revenge starts hence, it can never converge as a class struggle, too in India due to the various factors causing it - act as deterrent against common uprising rather it tends to remain as an individual's act of violence and violation in a organised form. It is fact that as a matter of revenge then these higher castes strike back with equal cruelty instilling fear and terror and so the menace continues and continues to grow and grow and gain wider proportions.

We find that economically, there are two categories of dacoits - one who are at lower economic level. These dacoits are ill-literate, poor, unemployed and belong to low social status. Second category of those who come from relatively high economic level. Dispute over land and property sent them careening into dacoity. Most dacoits in this category are from the higher castes where the pressure was higher on each earning member. Moreover, the standard of living, which is high, has to be maintained whatever the cost. While it is true that they own property, the accumulation of more wealth is necessary if they are to ride their hobby horse of traditional supremacy, power and prestige over their members of their own castes and those of others. Their exclusive dependance on property to the exclusion of labour makes them profoundly property conscious, which sparks off rivalries often with their own kin, the co-sharers of their property. Instead of assuming that dacoity is only a product of the oppre-

ssion of a recessive caste by a dominant caste, it would be more prevalent to look for the causes in inequality, destitution and social injustice.

Violence as a way of life is often the cumulative outcome of a succession of unfortunate events that push like tides against a man's inner defences. They wear him down by degrees, till the fractional pressure of another acts as the proverbial last straw and launches him into a career of crime and destruction. Savour the cases of Man Singh, Pancham Singh, Janak Singh, Desh Raj whose families were destroyed by rival groups.

#### RATIONALISATION

Merely a reason or a set of reasons does not drive a potential deviant to commit infractions unless he has not also found some mental justifications for his lawlessness. As Block and Geis,(1962:161) observe, "Among the most significant attributes of the professional criminals is an elaborate system of rationalisation, a system that is made up of verbal justification for a way of life that elicits disapproval from a large segment of society".<sup>1</sup> In the first place, as suggested by Sykes and Matza(1957: 292-299), "A deviate attempts to neutralise the preexisting normative constraints, legal or moral with the argument. A large number of anti social people masquerading as civilised citizens harm society more than I/we do." Moreover,

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1. Block, H.A. and Geis, Gilbert, 1962: *Man, Crime and Society*, quoted from Singh, R.G., op. cit. p. 46.

he would perhaps insist, "we limit our attack to those who deserve it, while the so called fathers and law makers infringe more laws than we do."<sup>1</sup>

It would, however, be wrong to believe that violence by a dacoit signifies a revolt against, or total rejection, of the existing normative structure. It is rather an act of undermining the moral pressure of society and to underscore the fact that violence, under certain circumstances, if not right and legal, is unavoidable and therefore justifiable. Briefly, a dacoit rationalises his act on the following grounds:

1. Some potential dacoits state that the way we have adopted is not that of a coward, it is consistant with and even emphasises my sense of honour and self respect.
2. Force of circumstances compelled me to become a dacoit. There was no other way of securing redress of my genuine grievances. There is a question of my existence. If we do not protest against our opponent by force and violence then they killed us. So we have to do violence for the sake of violence.
3. After commiting the crime if we returned to our home we had to face double force of the opponent and the police.
4. Some dacoits who had served army or police, argued that when a man like a soldier is surrounded by odd circumstances and pressure exerted by enemy and finds no way to escape, then he fight with motive of do or die.

1. Sykes, G.M. and Matza, D: "Techniques of Neutralisation: A Theory of Delinquency" Americal Sociological Review, 22 Dec. 1957, quoted Singh, R.G. op. cit. p. 46.

5. There is no justice with poor in the society. Might is right. Those who enforce justice in the society are themselves not just. There is practically no justice for the underdog in the system. Nobody listen to poor, where we should approach for justice?
6. A small percentage of inmate dacoits accepted that it is better to commit robberies, dacoities and similar offences rather than die of starvation.

Of the major factors that insulate the dacoits from public criticism, condemnation, and self devaluation are their isolation and their power to inflict hurt. Their contacts are limited largely to their own men - members of their gang or those shelter them in the time of trouble or those who consive at their acts. A common villages, on the other hand, has nothing to do with them as he is neither troubled nor benefited by their operations. But like others, the fear of reprisal keeps him from condemning them even covertly.

This makes abscondence morally defensible. And, as discussed earlier, the availability of physical hide-outs, the existence of gangs to train and provide arms and shelter, and the passive acquiescence of society, make more and more people look upon dacoity as a career. In short, deviation is not the result of initial social conditions nor of individual factors alone. As Buckley (1967: 61) observes: "It is deviation amplifying operations between the personality system and the situation that has generated the deviant out-come".<sup>1</sup>

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1. Buckley, Walter, 1967: Sociology and Modern System Theory.  
Quoted from Singh, R.G. op.cit. p. 48.

MOTIVATIONS LEAD TO DACTITY

Generally, no body incurs a risk for himself by joining a gang simply because of the lure of the system. Before finally deciding to adopt dacoity as the means of attaining his aim, a person passes through a period of intense thinking. When he is thus in a state of mental tension and is wondering to turn deviate or not, there usually occurs some event which rouses the underlying impulse in him and hastens him along the way of crime. Thus, most of the dacoits accepted that some situations in their life worked as a catalyst in causing a violent act which led them to deviate. Normally a person, even though involved in a feud with others, does not choose to be a dacoit until he murders his rival enemy or until he feels so insecure as to consider revenge unavoidable.

As is apparent from the table XVIII makes it clear that for a large majority of dacoits (20.98%) murder was the stepping stone to dacoity while 17.85 percent gravitated to it to workout their revenge. A smaller percentage (6.69%) join either because they have been marked by the police for harbouring a gang, or have had the police implicate them under false charge, with stepped up psychological pressure that involved the burning of their crops and harvests the destruction of homes the siezure of their cattle and properties. And then, there is that small minority of 2.67 percent who joined a gang as a last resort to have a particular dispute on females.

Finally, barring those who were not known either to

a gang chieftain, or to any member of the gang, or to a harbourer the others (81%) had been lured into the system by the social system itself; while (19%) were either members of the family, neighbours, close friends, relatives of dacoit or his chief or harbourers.

Thus, we have already mentioned, people turn into dacoits and seek admission into gangs from different motives. Some join for the purpose of gaining monetary profit, others in order to be able to take revenge, and yet others in search of status, power and prestige. In answer to a question, it is reported that powerful dacoit chieftains and core members of a gang had fulfilled their aspirations. They had deserted the family of their real enemies.

Most of the petty dacoits accepted that they could not secure any significant gain or fulfil their aspirations. On the other hand they were charged falsely by their enemies. From the view point of labelling, we find that about 7 percent of the dacoits took up dacoity when they were harassed by police in order to get informations that might help in apprehending the dacoits who were either harboured by them or were their friends.

Thus, the maximum number of dacoits were one time harbourers who were in the profession because the police was privy to their role and was closing in on them, or because they had committed a murder and were on the run, or more simply for revenge.

SELF STATEMENT

Ramjee:- I am Ramji S/O Kanauji dacoit belongs to village, Hindupura, P.S. - Kurra in district Mainpuri. My father himself was a dacoit. He trained me the ethic of dacoit. Later on, I came into the contact of notorious dacoit, Kashi Ram, Aheer. Actually all these dacoits were harboured by my father. I was a care member of Kashi Ram. We organised the gang after the death of Kashi Ram.

We came into the lime light when we planned to plunder a blacksmith's family on 25th July, 1977. Kashi Ram managed some extra weapons and set off for pilage. On 26th July, 1977 at about 8 p.m. we looted the family of 'Sunar'. The villagers opened fire against our gang. We run away from the village. Our three gang members wounded whose names were Bhura, Snivraj and Maharaj Singh. Later on, Bhura was killed in an encounter with police.

Our gang was armed with one thirty carbive rifle, one 315 bore, one 303 bore, one 12 bore and some single barrel 12 bore and country made pistols. In begining the total gang members in our gang were thirteen.

Mool Chand S/O Saiyadeen Chamax:- I belong to village Sekin, in Jalaun District. I have 7-8 bighas land of my father, but it was not sufficient for the sustenance of our family. I used to earn money by illigal means instead of hard labour. I was a gang member of Vijay Singh gang in which I had to vigil the bag and baggage of the gang members. I fled away during the

Source: Anti Dacoity Cell, Uttar Pradesh, Agra.

encounter took place in the forest of 'Niwahana' and concealed the arms in the forest. I was in the search of some new gang.

The gang was harboured by the local influential persons as well as poor ones. Arms and ammunition was managed by the gang leader. Every gang has oil and rugged clothes for cleaning the arms. Usually our gang marched in the night between 8 p.m. to 4 a.m. in the morning. There were separate watch on kidnapped person and gang but during day time, generally, a single gang member vigiled either by a good hight or from a tree.

In our gang each member had a bowl for taking food. Polithine sheets were used for sleeping and to prepare the food. Besides it, dil, soap, mirror and transistor were kept in a bag. In morning, after having bathed we cooked our food combinedly near a mullah or riverside. Sometimes reliable person also used to serve the cooked food. All gang members were non vegetarian. There was strict prohibition on gambling and drinking in our gang. If a gang member refract the rule he was punished for hundred rupees. The gang leader had illicit sex relations with the women of Mallahas or Kewats.

Maniram S/O Maharjua Kumhar, vill. Kathpurwa, Jalaun (U.P.) :-

I myself surrendered on 20th October 1982 at Bhind court in Madhya Pradesh. I remained four years active member of deferent gangs. I am illiterate I used to plough before absconding. My brother-in-law Valwana was the member of Mustkeem gang who became dacoit due to the conflict with Thakurs of his village. He was

Source: Anti Dacoity Cell, Uttar Pradesh, Agra.

killed in an encounter due to informing police by the villagers of Dhamna. To take revenge I absconded with my nephew and joined the gang.

I was the member of Mustkeem gang when I shot 6 Yadavas and a policeman in an encounter in Etawah District. Later on I left the gang of notorious dacoit Mustkeem. In our gang, the gang leader managed the arms and ammunitions. One gang deserts the other gang when inter gang conflicts arise. If a gang member wants to leave the gang, he has to surrender the arms to gang leader.

Our gang took refuge in the forest of the Chakarnagar, Jagmanpura, Nawgaon, Rampura, Unghoura, Kailiya, the riverside of Pahuj, Sayondha Dang, Markwan, and Ratangarh ki mata. I have no illicit sex relation with other women. I had to vigil the gang during the rest hours.<sup>1</sup>

Hussain Saiyad:- Hussain and Saiyad surrendered themselves on 15 July 1982. Exploitation by the money lender was the main cause for making them dacoits. The money lender who lent them sum money was not repayed by them. So money lender deprived them of their lands and that's way the money lender was murdered by them. Then, they absconded in to the ravines. For organisation of a gang they needed money, arms and weapons so they committed dacoities and kidnapping for ransom.

Normally first offender absconds because he fears that justice would not be done with him.<sup>2</sup>

1. Anti Dacoity Cell, Uttar Pradesh, Agra.

2. Subbarao, S.N.: 'Surrender of Hussain Saiyad', Swatantra Bharat, September 16, 1982, Lucknow.

CASE HISTORIES

1. Sadashiv Alias Fauji:- Sadashiv alias fauji was born in 1947 in a Chamar family in a village, Sakin Anwan S.P. Babaru in Banda, (U.P.). He got his education upto eighth standard. He was an intelligent boy. He has served in Home Guard in 1964. Thereafter in 1965, he got recruited in Army. His criminal carrier started when in 1972 his brother Ram Ratan was murdered by a Thakur. After the murder of his brother, his wife was raped. He came to his village on two months leave and thereafter became deserter and started indulging in heinous crimes, to take vengeance upon his enemy. The gang is known to have as many as 28 members. The gang is armed with modern automatic weapons like sten gun, rifle, double barrel gun, SSB guns and hand grenades.

The gang leader Fauji and some other members usually commit rape while committing dacoities. He protected Harijans and admitted them in his gang. He gave seven thousands of ruppes for buying motor cycle to compaign elections to a local leader.<sup>1</sup>

2. Raju Bhatnagar:- Twenty four year old Raju alias Rajkumar Bhatnagar was born in Rath Tehsil of Hamirpur, (U.P.). He completed his graduation from Govt. Collige, Datia (M.P.). After crassing his teenage he came into the contact of antisocial elements. He joined the gang of dacoit Suresh Soni. After the arrest of Suresh Soni he was proved a notorious kidnaper who used to kidnap the persons of elite class. He was arrested in a posh colony in East Kailash, New Delhi.<sup>2</sup>

1. Source: Anti Dacoity Cell, Agra, (U.P.).

2. Source: Nautiyal, Durga Prasad, Septahik Hindustan, 28.6.81.

3. Pan Singh Tomar:- Pan Singh Tomar carrying an award of Rs. 10,000 on his head, the broad faced and sturdy former athlete was the dreaded dacoit in Chambal. Implicated in a dacoity in June 1973, two years after 22 years honourable service in the army absconded. But the transition from the tartan tracks of racing to the tortuous terrain of the Chambal was not intentional. Like most dacoits, the 49 year old former army subedar was the victim of social injustice. Earlier, Pan Singh had to fight a court case when he was in service. Some persons of his village Under Sohania police station in Murena district, filed a case against his possession of the licensed rifle.

But Pan Singh's troubles did not end here. Also their relative, Babu Singh, encroached upon his land. When he resisted, he was beaten up and his nubile daughter insulted and her ornaments looted. He was snubbed by police even refused to register his complaint against Babu Singh who, instead, managed to lodge a false complaint against Pan Singh because of his influence. Even the Panchayat's decision against Babu Singh failed to get Pan Singh's land vacated. Frustrated Pan Singh gunned down Babu Singh in broad day light in March, 1979 and took refuge in the ravines. His elder brother Matadeen, a former army havildar and his nephew Hanuman, then joined him. The rugged athlete now headed a gang of 15 desperadoes. Pan Singh shot two of Babu Singh's sons in August, 1979, later on he lost his brother in a police encounter.

Pan Singh, who mostly indulges in kidnapping for ransom, is reported to have collected Rs. 1 lac as ransom from a village surpach and a teacher.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Source: Hindustan Times: January 31, 1980, p. 12, New Delhi.

Phoolan Devi, vill. Shekhpurguraha, Kanpur (U.P.):- Like other female dacoits she also came from lower socio-economic strata. She belongs to a mailah family. Even she could not bloom and got married at the early age with a widower of above forty. As she crossed her teenage her husband puttilal deserted her life. In meanwhile she was charged a case of theft on 16th January 1979 by her cousin due to land dispute. She had to pass 15 days under police custody and to satisfy the animal lust of rascals.

Thus, the story of Phoolan is not different from other female dacoits like Putli, Masina, Kamalia, Maya, Kuntala, etc. During the course of her tension, she came into contact with a boy who was the friend of dacoit Vikram. When Vikram came to know about her he insisted her to the adventure, thrile and romance of banditry. After all she joined the gang of Vikram and became the cause of Vikram's death.

Alwar s/o Godhan Ahear, vill. Balipura, Mainpuri:- From the very early age Alwar, the notorious dacoit, was the man of perverted mentality. After the death of his parents he was left completely free. He plundered even his sister to secure her jewellery and murdered her. He also killed his brother-in-law Nepal Singh who got him arrested. Actually, his love for wine and woman had caused a lot of dessension. His Master, Chieftain German was a notorious dacoit. He fathered a number of dacoit chieftain like Pothi, Anarsingh, Mahavira and Chhabiram. His gang took refuge in the forest of Kalinadi, in the forest of Pinjari and Saronth. He generally used local gang members in committing dacoity.

Munna Singh Dabar S/O Bachchu Singh Thakur, Dist. Mainuri (U.P.):-

This notorious dacoit swooped down on the police station armoury of Pandokhar (Gwalior) like a hurricane and looted the 15 rifles 303, one 12 bore, a revolver, one stengun and some 1200 cartridges. His brother, Shiv Singh was a constable who was posted at police station of Pandokhar. He belonged to a poor family at and could not be socialized well. On December 11th he absconded from Bhind District Jail and organised a strong gang with his brother.

Pothi Ram S/O Chironji, vill. Behati (Kalan) Shahjahanpur (U.P.):-

Pothi belonged to a criminal family. His father was a murderer and his brother was encountered by police. In begining he was arrested in cattle theft. After completion one year sentence he was discharged. Burning with rage he absconded and shot his brothers enemy Badshah Singh whose son was a witness in the above case. He had illicit sex relations with women.

Badshah Khan S/O Nawab Khan, vill. Sadpur, Mainpuri (U.P.):

His father deserted his mother in his early age. Hence he had to pass his childhood like or orphan which finally compelled to join the company of anti social elements. He began his early career with small theft and on 6th August 1977, for the first time, he committed a dacoity at Durganagar in Ferozabad in which a person was killed. Therefore, he absconded but he was arrested on 25th December. Later on he jumped on bail in April 1981.

Bhagwan Kachhi S/O Mulu Kachhi, vill. Khargatipur (Etah), U.P.:-

Dacoit Bhagwandeen's mother had illicit relation with a Thakur. When he came to know that he was not the son of his fatner and

his mother had dual sex morality, he could not tolerate it and murdered the Thakur. Now he was sentenced for three years rigorous imprisonment. After completion of his sentence he was released. Again he was charged under section 25 on 3rd March 1972. And it was here in the jail he came into contact of various hardened criminals who gave finishing touch to his criminal talent.

Jagata Kachhi S/O Ramphal Kachhi, vill. Changoli, Agra (U.P.):-

Born in 1950 Jagata Kachhi had two brother and two sisters. He had a small piece of land. His family was facing severe financial crises which forced his brother to take part in anti social activities. Later on he became a dacoit. After his brother's encounter Jagata also adopted the same way of life. In 1977 he was arrested on the spot in a dacoity with arms. After one year he jumped on bail.

Brajwasi S/O Ranjeet Jatav, vill. Naglahulli, Etawah (U.P.):-

Born in 1945 Brajwasi Jatav had to pass his early life as an orphan after the death of his father. He had no means of livelihood. Dacoity perhaps appealed to him mainly for its financial rewards. He came into contact with a notorious thief named Pyare who had a long experience of dacoity. With his help he committed a dacoity on 16th March 1970. He was tried and convicted. In 1973 he was released on bail. He transferred his property in the name of his brother-in-law and absconded. In 1974 he was again arrested but in 1977 he managed to run away. He organised his own gang which took refuge in the villages of Yamuna ravines within the police circle of Jaswantnagar.

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Born in 1950 Jagata Kachhi had two brother and two sisters. He had a small piece of land. His family was facing severe financial crises which forced his brother to take part in anti social activities. Later on he became a dacoit. After his brother's encounter Jagata also adopted the same way of life. In 1977 he was arrested on the spot in a dacoity with arms. After one year he jumped on bail.

Brajwasi S/O Ranjeet Jatav, vill. Naglahulli, Etawah (U.P.):-

Born in 1945 Brajwasi Jatav had to pass his early life as an orphan after the death of his father. He had no means of livelihood. Dacoity perhaps appealed to him mainly for its financial rewards. He came into contact with a notorious thief named Pyare who had a long experience of dacoity. With his help he committed a dacoity on 16th March 1970. He was tried and convicted. In 1973 he was released on bail. He transferred his property in the name of his brother-in-law and absconded. In 1974 he was again arrested but in 1977 he managed to run away. He organised his own gang which took refuge in the villages of Yamuna ravines within the police circle of Jaswantnagar.

### GANG ORGANISATION

Dacoity is an organised violence when five or more persons conjointly commit or attempt to commit a robbery. In dacoity robbery and violence go together. Similarly, a dacoit gang comprises of at least five members armed with lethal weapons who by means of violence, or threats of such violence engage in theft, extortion, kidnapping, murder and collection of tribute from people in the area under its way and influence.

The dacoit gangs may be classified in many ways on the basis of operational area, size and strength, nature of gang membership etc. Generally gangs are listed by police according to their operational area:

1. Inter District Gangs:- These gangs operate in a limited area, generally, from one district to another district in a state. These gangs have limited members and firearms. If these type of gangs pass its evolutionary period successfully, they develop into big ones.

2. Inter Range Gangs:- These gangs are rather big in size and strength and move from one range to another range in a state. These gangs are considered more powerful and resourceful. During the course of time they develop in to inter state gangs.

3. Inter State Gangs:- Relatively, these gangs are major gangs, consisting of about twenty to fifty or more members and equipped with modern weapons. This type of gang is capable of demolishing

any resistance that may be offered them in their raid or during public encounters. Such gangs possess a strong intelligence, plentiful firearms suppliers and a number of harbourers in different areas of operation.

On the tenure of gang establishment and membership as a whole there are two types of gangs: permanent and local.<sup>1</sup>

Permanent gang:- These gangs are organised under chieftain on a relatively permanent or regular basis. Almost all the members of such gangs are on the identifications file of police records. The gang has its own well defined structure, working procedure and code of conduct besides an auxiliary body for intelligence, arms and ammunition suppliers, and paid harbourers in the villages and nearby police stations. On the basis of its power, resources and men at command, a permanent gang may be further subdivided into three categories:

- (a) Major gangs consisting of about fifty or more members under more than two subchieftains,
- (b) Medium sized gangs with twenty or more members and relatively less resourceful than the major gangs,
- (c) Minor gangs comprising roughly of ten or more members and relatively poor in capabilities and resources than the other two.

2. Local Gangs:- The intermittent gangs are not organized

1. Singh, R.G., 1980: op. cit., pp. 38-39.

on a regular basis. The members of these semi-organised gangs live inconspicuously in their local community. They take a banditry as a part time occupation. Occasionally they assemble, move out together, plunder and disperse after distributing the booty. Khan (1981: 142) refers Kanjars gangs are of lucid illustrations of this class.<sup>1</sup>

Actually, sometimes the permanent gangs also employ some local harbourers cum plunderers at villages and whenever they need of them, they are called for. Dacoit chieftain Alwar, Chhabiram had this type of gang members in their operational areas.

It is found that in Doab region the organisation of dacoit gangs is influenced by the pattern of Chambal dacoit gangs, while in Bundelkhand the size of gang small and poor in arms and ammunitions.

The Structure of a Dacoit Gang:- The dacoit gangs have been of different size. The man power and strength of the gang often depends on circumstances, the will of gang leader and management. Generally, in minor gangs the member strength ranges from ten to fifteen. In medium sized gang this strength may be extended upto twenty five while in big one the strength may be in the range of 25 to near about 100 members.

Besides it, a big gang employ a number of local gang members temporarily at villages in the area of operation. The contemporary gangs show a tendency towards the medium sized

1. Khan, M.Z., 1981: op. cit., p. 142.

gang organisation, specially in Bundelkhand region the maintenance of big gang like Malkhan, Mohar Singh and Madhav Singh or Chhabiram to gangs, is rare. Generally a model gang's strength reported by surrendered chieftains has been between fifteen to twenty including casual members.

Almost in all dacoit gangs at the top of the pyramid is the chieftain who rules like an autocrat. The chieftain is found predictably self appointed with proven or supposed resourcefulness, courage and ruthlessness. In major gangs, however, there is also a council of advisor consisting of core members to help the leader of the gang. This council assist the leader in matter of recruitment and advise him on the plan of action and mode of operation. Nevertheless, the decision of a chief is in all matters final and binding. Disobedience is dealt by with severely and is sometimes punishable by death.

It is also found that in some major gangs such as those of Chhabiram, Malkhan and Mustkeen were composed of two or three divisions. Each division consisted of about twenty five members under a subchieftain who exercised little autonomy. In Bundelkhand region such type of division is not found. There is only one subchieftain under the gang leader.

Besides leader, subchieftain and members, the big gangs usually employ a fourth category of members, that of workers, who are often new comers on probation. They undergo a short period of training, ranging between few months to a year in the use of arms and military strategy. At the same time they are

also assigned some menial works, like collecting wood, fetching water, carrying load and watching the kidnapped. These tasks are mostly prescribed for the indigent low castes who have neither arms nor the technical know how of using them. In most cases they approach a gang in search of employment or shelter.<sup>1</sup>

Exceptionally co-leadership is also seen in some prominent gangs like Lalaram - Sriram at present in Uttar Pradesh, Mauni-Ram-Sahay, (surrendered in 1972) Kala-Putli (Chambal), Hasina-Khilawan (Bundelkhand) etc. are the example of such type of gang leadership.

While discussing organisational aspects about the gang of adolescent thieves, Shakla (1970) has offered a useful typology. He observes, that in a gang there are leader, core members, peripheral members and fringe members in descending order.<sup>2</sup>

Functions:- Usually the gang leader assigns the duties and functions among the gang members. A leader holds all major responsibilities, from overall control and enrolment to punishment for disloyalty. He arranges for food, clothing, arms and ammunition, controls the intelligence system, keeps accounts and distributes the profits amongst the members. A part from internal administration, a dacoit gang's chief is conscious of maintaining the security of his organisation from external pressure, both legal and moral. Which requires him to scout the ground for the more venal police officials and public leaders

1. See, The Statements of Dacoits.

2. Shukla, K.S., 1970: Adolescent Thieves, M.Ph. D. Thesis, p. 120.

who would lend him ready convience for a consideration. More he fixes the harbourers and receivers.

As a rule the chieftain of a major gang lays down the plan of attack. The process of descision making in matters concerning the gang and its activities is, no doubt the prerogative of the leader. He may give due consideration to the views expressed by the core members or the trusted lieutenants as Khan (1981: 143) observed.<sup>1</sup> In big gangs during the operation course he waits at a safe distance with some gang members to counter any emergency. The other members may carryout a raid simultaneously or be deployed more statigically. The chief joins a faray only if it is a major one requiring his skill and guidance.

A subchieftain evidently assists the leader in all matters besides those delegated to him, like leading his division on operational raids, pakar (kidnapping) loot, and reprisal against police informers. Also, a subchieftain assigns task of routine watch to members and acts the middleman between the chief and the harbourers. He has detailed besides requisitioning food and other necessary articles for the gang.

They lay members functions as masseurs to the leader and perform the work of cooks and attendants whenever needed. Caste hierarchy plays a dominant role in the assignation of duties. Menial tasks, for instance, are still the preserve of the lowly.

1. Khan, M.Z., 1981: op. cit. p. 143.

Gang Administration And Control:- Many of the rules are practised in order to maintain security and organisation of the gang. These rules are designed by gang leaders who have real experience and knowledge of dealing with critical situations. In any case a member of gang is failed to follow these rules, he would be dealt with severe punishment. In some gangs, gambling, drinking and molesting women during dacoity operation are strictly prohibited. Still a gang member indulge in such activity, he may be shot dead for serious offence. In the situation of mutual disputes or misbehaviour among the members of a gang, the leader decides the matter, but if there is a serious matter, which poses a threat to the well being of a gang, the whole gang takes decision. Moreover, each member living with the others in the gang learns the code of conduct and unquestioned fidelity to the gang.

If a gang member wants to leave the gang, he has to surrender the gang's arms. Without clearing the dues of prior gang, a member can not join the other gang also, otherwise his family members or mediator will be compelled to compensate. The breach of trust in any gang is punishable even by death. The gang leader is ready to silence him for desertion.

#### CODE OF CONDUCT

Dacoits, although, they earned their livelihood by loot and murder observed a definite code of personal ethic. A gang's survival, as also its strength not only depends on the

unity and loyalty of its members, but on its code of conduct prescribed for its members. The dasyu, unlike present day dacoits, had their own moral code which they rigidly observed, and steadfastly adhered to. Although these dasyu indulged in looting the property of others, they did not commit physical violence like angulimal or present day dacoits gang which makes its criminal debut by a savage display of cruelty molesting women or ransacking whole villages. It was not common practice to cut a victim's limb or sever his nose, tongue and genital organs. They respected the chastity of women as Kapoor (1960:4) mentions Col. Sleeman's statement about the code of conduct of those gangs, "In all my enquiries into the character, habits and conduct of these gangs, I have never found an instance of female having been disgraced or molested by them".<sup>1</sup>

Actually, in olden days, they had their own self respect and respected sanctity of things hallowed by rite and custom. Their moral code included the following:<sup>2</sup>

1. Not to kill the vanquished.
2. Not to Molest a woman.
3. Not to touch the property of Brahmans and priests.
4. Not to deprive the looted persons of all their belonging and property.
5. Not to touch virgins.
6. Not to overrule and to govern the villages after committing a dacoity and plunder there.

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1. Kapoor, Bishan, 1960: op. cit. p. 4.

2. Ibid..... .... p. 33.

Unlike dasyu present day dacoits differ in many respects. Generally, the fear of death and unhappening make them religious outwardly. Most of the dacoits accepted that they worshiped goddess Kali or Durga. (the goddess of power). Some of them also worshiped the local deities which are popular in their areas. Some prominent dacoits like Malkhan bore the expenditure of a temple construction. They used to contribute donations too for marriages of poor girls etc. All these activities are done to win over the public confidence in their favour.

Most of the gang leaders argued that they never tried to dishonour women folk, as it creates hatred towards them. Brutal rapes are certainly exterminated them, by the people themselves. So they try to maintain existing social rules of behaviour. But actually it is found that there is no rigid fair attitude toward women. Sex morality is, generally found defective. Most of the dacoits are attached with women illegally. It is found that gang leaders have their concubines. Alwar, Mahabira, Pothi, Anarsingh, Chhabiram and Fauji, all of them had illicit relations with women.

Though in some gangs, prostitution is also prohibited but there is no rigidity about sex immorality. Some times the gang purchases the gang-purchase females to gratify their sexual appetite. The dacoits do not make any distinction of caste and creed in matters relating to sex. It is also found that there is no strict restriction on gambling and taking liquor.

Besides the above moral code there are some rigid norms

which the members are expected to uphold:

1. No gang member would conceal the looted property, before or after the dacoity operations.
2. During encounter gang would try to carry away both its wounded and the dead members.
3. In case of arrest, it is expected that the a gang member would not break and betray the gang to the police. In some cases the gangs try to arrange financial assistance to defend the arrested member at court.
4. When a gang member leaves the gang he has to surrender the gang arms.
5. An unwritten code among the dacoits bars the entry of those dacoits who have absconded from any gang with firearms or other disputed articles.
6. Distribution of booty is a delicate matter in gang, and, to a great extent, sets the pace for the gang unity or discord. So every gang leader tries to distribute the share fairly according to gang's rule or contact.
7. A chief usually avoids intervening in any dispute unless his own men are involved or troubled. If, however, he does intervene, or express an opinion either way, it is binding on both parties. If either of the two parties demurs against the chief's judgement, he/they are severely punished or liquidated.

CONDITIONS FOR ADMISSION

There are hardly a few cases who voluntarily joined the gang of dacoits, otherwise most of the dacoits come in this profession after committing heinous crimes as discussed in the process of dacoitisation. Any person who want to join the gang is brought before the chief after some preliminary investigations. Admission hinges mainly on a candidate's ability and capacity to lead a dacoit's life and his morality for loyalty. Together with such physical requisites as good health, smartness, fearlessness, and courage, trustworthiness is an indispensable condition expected of a neophyte. If the chief is confident of the integrity and loyalty of the new comer, he may grants him entry without insisting on any security. Generally, admission into a gang is granted by the chief, although others may, if consulted, give their opinion.

A fugitive from law may approach a dacoit chief either direct or through intermediary. In our sampling, most of the newcomers joined the gang through some intermediates. These persons had to furnish adequate security before admission in a gang. A relative, or friend of a trusted neighbour of the leader or any member of the gang, may stand surely for a new comer. Briefly, recruitment into a gang is based on the previous history of the recruit, his family background, his relations and his relation with police, the area from which he comes, the weapons he possess, the motives actuating him to seek admission, the security he furnishes and, above all, on the possibility of his future loyalty to gang.

Preference is usually given to those who possess firearms or those who have already committed a murder or two. Besides these, the bail jumpers are also easily absorbed. Singhal finds, "notwithstanding the fact that every single member of any organised gang is more often than not, 'a bail jumper'. Indeed there are several of them who have jumped bail twice or more times."<sup>1</sup>

Though, the dacoits under study came from different strata in the criminal hierarchy as given in the table XX, but the highest percentage of dacoits (49.54%) were those who had committed dacoity with murder or both separately. This synthesis shows that murder is the stepping stone to dacoity. Besides it we found that the highest percentage (20.94%) was of those dacoits who committed murder and joined the gang.

TABLE XX

I.P.C. Sectionwise Distribution of Dacoits

S.N.O.	Section	No. of Dacoits	Percentage
1.	Undertrial	17	7.58
2.	394	4	1.78
3.	395	15	6.70
4.	396	102	45.53
5.	395/396	9	4.01
6.	395/397	32	14.28
7.	Dacoity with other offences (More than two sections)	45	20.08

Members who have not committed a murder are required to do so on joining for obvious reasons. In the first place, it strips off their inhibition and inners them to the sight of blood. Secondly, it ensures their loyalty, because murder brands them fugitives from justice-people on the run.

1. Singhal, B.P., 1982: ... op. cit.. p. 21.

Besides a sturdy and rugged physique, a measure of smartness, shrewdness and the ability to take quick decision, it is essential that the novitiate be young. Old age and ill health are liabilities that are best avoided. There are very few cases of adults of above forty who are admitted into the sodality if they have the requisite strength and acumen. In our sample most of the dacoits were young at the time of admission into a gang.

TABLE: XXI

Age of the Sample Dacoits

S.No.	Age (in years)	No. of Dacoits	Percentage
1.	Below 20	18	8.03
2.	20-30	108	48.21
3.	30-40	58	25.89
4.	40-50	26	11.60
5.	50-60	10	4.46
6.	Above 60	4	1.78
<b>Total</b>		<b>224</b>	<b>99.97</b>

Although those in the age group of twenty to thirty years show a singular range for the profession. Infact, this is an age when a man is geared to top physical conditions. He has the grit, the stamina, the brashness (to take chances), the immaturity, the violence and vindictiveness and animal cunning

required of all potential gang members. Another striking characteristics we noted was the steady declination of the negative aptitude of persons towards dacoity after the age of thirty. The inference is that relatively fewer people in the higher age group show any predilection for deviance. In the entire sample studied by us there was only a few case where men turned to dacoity at the age of above fifty. These, of course, were those who had been charged falsely in the section of dacoity.

#### PROCESS OF ADAPTATION

The informations collected in this regards reveals that a dacoit becomes at least physical committed to the profession the moment he enrolls in a gang, he has no other choice. In most of the cases when a man commits a murder he is afraid of caught by police or killed by his rivals. Besides it, behind his abbrancy from law and joining a gang works to revenge with his rivals. Above all in the process of conditioning him to the dacoits belief system, a gang also takes upon the task who subjected to it. First, they mitigate the pains of his deprivations of liberty, security and possession of property etc., then individual offender automatically adopts the process of dacoitisation.

There is no formal training of arms and ammunition for new comers in small gangs. They learn more from experience than planned training. In some cases the novitiates possessing

a prior experience with the armed police or the army need not to train about arms. But totally freshers go under the training of weapons as well as decoity tactics in big gangs especially.

The novitiate not only learns the use of arms and the techniques and strategies of brigandage, but is also honed into the fearlessness, cruelty and brutality. Moreover, living with others in the gang, he learns their code of conduct and assimilates criminal values and norms such as reliance upon violence, the efficacy of terror, loyalty to the gang and respect for gang's core members. Other major values inculcated upon a trainee are the familial ties with each gang member, secrecy, revenge and inclemency. Revenge against police and informers of police is particularly emphasised.

The thing which binds them with each other that they are sufferer of common torturing and cruelty of society so they live with more common sympathy and revengeful spirit in a gang like the birds of the same feature flock together.

In begining of the career the new entrants are assigned the menial jobs like watching the kidnapped persons, to carry on the gang's bag and baggage, cooking etc. Later on he is absorbed into the gang with ful status of gang member. Actually adoption of a new one differs from man to man. All these things depends on the personality, caste, prior experience and the crime committed by him.<sup>1</sup>

#### GANG SURVIVAL

A gang's life span mainly depends on two factors -

1. See, The Self Statement of Dacoits.

physiographic conditions of the regions in which it operates and its organisation. As regards the physiographic hideouts, it is observed that the topographical factors play an important role in providing safe shelter for dacoit gangs. The existence of sprawling ravines and dense forest make excellent hide outs has permitted long life span of the gangs in Chambal area and to some extent in Bundelkhand while in Doab where indogangetic plain is not helpful except a few patches of Ganga-Yamuna and other river side, forest. Though, the professional tenure of dacoits vary from a few months to period extending two to three decades until they are encountered, arrested or surrendered, but a gang, generally, survive a shorter span of time in comparison of individual dacoit.

A gang's survival, as its strength, depends mainly on the unity and legality of its members. Which requires each member to be faithful, cautious and alert. Besides, its leader's personality, gang intelligence, the quality of arms and ammunition are also accounted to the survivability of a gang. Generally a cunning gang leader tries to avoid encounter with police. The gang of Malkhan Singh never repeat the mistake of encounters.

#### GANG SPLIT

The conflicts in different form and degree persist in all gangs, and when they take an alarming shape they are amicably resolved by the leader or gang man. Although the internal organisation of most gang is strongly knit, there

have been many instances of schisms within them.<sup>1</sup> The major reasons for a split are found given below:

1. One of the major reasons for the split into a gang is the unfair distribution of looted booty among its members.
2. The ambitious gang members are also responsible for breaking the unity of a gang. When a member earns enough money to secure and keep arms and men under him he may be tempted to form a separate gang, serving his contacts with parent gang. In Uttar Pradesh Ahar Singh, Pothi Ram and Chhabiram Ram gangs were the off shoots of Alwar gang. They divided to gain name, fame and money and above all, independent power. They helped each other in operation and police encounter and scattered for their interests.
3. It is also observed that a woman is the major cause for a split into the gang. Most of the gang leader confessed that a gang Chieftain must avoid the entry of female dacoit into the gang. There are many examples of such gang which subjected to split or directed due to females. Lalaram Sriram gang's conflict with Phoolan and the death of Vikram and later on the mass massacre of Behmai is the best example of intra gang conflict.
4. A gang may variously suffer a split because of a chief's uncompromising nature or it may be brought about by a transgression of the moral code which the members are expected to uphold.
5. Lastly, after the death of a gang leader, there are many

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1. Behmai Massacre, 14 Feb., 1981.

subchieftain who claim for the post of leader. Most of the new gangs are originated from the old one after the death of prominent gang leader. Man Singh, Devi Singh (Bundelkhand) German (Etah), Alwar (Etah) and many other gangs produced a number of new gangs.

#### INTER GANG RELATIONS

It is observed that inter gang relations found cooperative and conflicting both. Inter gang relations are given utmost consideration. They are governed by informed norms developed in a long course of interaction between different gangs operating in the area. Thus as observed by Singh (1980:62), an informal code of conduct is accepted unconditionally by all existing gangs. Some of the basic tenets are: non interference in the specific area of operation where one gang exacts its tributes, immunity from harm to a harbourer, or person, who has offered tika to a gang.

Some times one gang hand over their kidnapped persons to other one especially when the police pressure is tight. It is also seen that small gang sells or hand over their 'Pakar' to big one on a fixed ransom. Besides it occasionally one gang helps with their force to other one as in the case of Chhabiram's encounter with police. The Behnai massacre was perpetrated by Phoolan with the help of Mustkeen gang. Notorious gangs of Chhabiram, Pothiram and Anar Singh which occasionally combined but otherwise worked in splinter groups.

On the other hand, inter gang conflicts are frequently seen. Any infraction of the informal code triggers off rivalries and bloodshed between the two gangs. It mostly occurs when the interests are exclusively inharmonious between two gangs. The conflict between Lakan and Roopa gang is well known enmity.<sup>1</sup> In Bundelkhand Chotte Raja was a sworn enemy of Moorat Singh. The Behmai massacre perpetrated by dreaded Phoolan against Lalaram Sriram gang's harbourers is the example of inter gang conflicts also.

#### GANG OPERATION

The synthesising of dacoity operation require talents and its commission also. A dacoit gang operating in a area looks out for a favourable situation in terms of police movements, arms and ammunition possessed by the victim, and the way they can escape after the commission.<sup>2</sup> A planned operation may be highly sophisticated crime requiring unique creative capacities. A gang leader must have a sense of organisation, timing ability to take into account of unforeseen events etc.

Generally before the plan of operation the gang leader prefers to have direct communication with informer then he will consult his fellowmen. The process of dicision making in matters concerning the gang ang it is no doubt, give due considerations to the views expressed by the core members or the trusted ill

1. Bhaduri, T.C., 1972, op. cit. p. 184.

2. Singh, D.R. and Zatar, D.P.: Situational Factors in Victimi-

sation by Dacoit Gangs in the Chambal Valley.  
Police Research & Development, p. 18, Jul. Sept, 1979

tenants yet it is he, who ultimately takes decision.<sup>1</sup> Previous experiences of members are given due recognition.

Prior to any dacoity a more flexible arrangements is used with assignment shifting dacoit to dacoit. The financial differentiation depends chiefly on what talents are available, however, the temperament of individual partners also may enter as a determinant.

As far as in the regards of village and raiders as a rule the gang leader of major gang lays down the plan of attack and conducts operation from a safe distance where he waits with a strong division of men to counter any emergency. But in small or minor gangs the gang leader himself takes initiation and lead during operation.

The successful completion of a dacoity operation depends mainly on the coordination of various task that must be completed. Through coordination and specialisation of roles of participants in dacoity not only assures more protection to itself but adds a measure of efficiency and shock in quickly overtaking the victim by a show of disciplined terror.

Broadly, there are two types of operation planned and unplanned. Dacoities that fall into the first category are well planned and well structured where all aspects are carefully delineated in the gang. At times, there may be rehearsals so that all possible conditions are taken into account.

1. Khan, M.Z., 1980, op. cit. p. 155.

Ambush type of dacoity is least planned. A gang attack on establishment in guerrilla fashion and attempt to obtain whatever might be found in cash or kind. There is almost randomness in the selection of victim, with no thought as to what conditions might be present in the situation that may affect the outcome of operation. It is also the type of dacoity where the chances of violent encounter are high.<sup>1</sup>

The content analysis of dacoity events revealed some facts about gang operation. The commission of dacoities vary with the seasonal variation. There is an upward trend during the cold winter and the hot summer. The rainy season is not suitable for dacoity excursions. Sticky mud and rain water, flooded rivers and ravines obstruct their movements.<sup>2</sup> It is also found that the night hours are most favourable for their excursion, plunder and raids, etc. as the Singh and Zatar also support the fact, "victimisation is found to be the highest during night hours provide better chances of hiding and less chances of identification."<sup>3</sup> In 80 percent cases of dacoity the victims could not identify the gangs.

A well operating gang needs only have 10 to 15 dacoits. Generally, a group of such strength appears to be most tactfully effective. In big gangs additional members may be added depending on the kind of operation and its felt complexity. An Exam-

1. Jodhpur Massacre, (Etawah) 9th Oct., 1979.

2. Katara, S.S., 1974, op. cit. p. 55

3. Singh, D.R. and Zatar, D.P., op. cit. 1979, p. 20

nation of the number of dacoits participating in a dacoity reveals that the strength ranges between 5 and 20 members with 5 to 10 members in most of the cases (43%). The greater number of raiding dacoits the less chances of resistance adding up to a situation conductive to the operation.

TABLE XXII

Situational Factors in Victimization by Dacoits

Dacoity Time	Gang Identification	Atrocities Committed	Gangs Strength & Dacoity	
Day -	4.6% Identified 20% case	Rape-7.5% case Death-20% -- Wounded-25%--	0-5 5-10 10-15	4.6% 43.0% 26.1%
Night -	84.6% Not Identified 80%	Arms looted-10%	15-20	12.3%
Evening -	6.1%	Beaten-37.5% case	N.A.	14.0%
N.A.	4.6%			
Total	99.9%	100%	100%	100%

Our findings also revealed that rape was committed by dacoits in 7.5 percent cases and in 20 percent cases a number of persons were killed on being protest or resist the dacoits. Almost in all cases of dacoity the victims were subjected to be wounded and beaten by dacoits. There were 37.5 percent of the cases in which victims were beaten severely. In some 10 percent cases the main target of dacoits was to loot the arms from the victims. Actually motive behind the commission of

atrocities committed by dacoits in most of the incidences is to get money. In order to get secret about the wealth or hidden property of a victim they torture him.

Though, the dacoits launch their operation after getting the situational information from local informer still the chances of encounter with police or villagers may repulse the attack of dacoits killing and arresting them. In such a situation the engaged gangs returns the fire and lays a counter ambush. Often they succeed in baffling the opposing persons by their tactful strategies. The topographical factors, and the settlements dusk or dark, site of settlement facilitate the escape.

It is fairly common that carnage during plunder - raids and in the process of kidnapping is inevitable but the mass murder incidents committed by dacoit gangs are not 'show off killings'. A tentative conclusion based on the motives behind the mass murder incidence may be provided: (a) there are at times dacoits kill the policemen, police informers and prosecution witnesses because these are the sore enemy of dacoits, (b) similarly vindictive killings are also committed by dacoits to protect their caste and kinmen, and close friends and harbourers, (c) besides it, old enmities are also fulfilled by committing mass murders to create the image of invincibility, in the minds of rivals.

Inter gang conflicts, occasionally, harm the defenceless inhabitants. During the caste conflicts the indulgence of dacoits of that area is very common in these regions.

### HARBOURERING

A gang has to fall back on society for all its needs. Without the active help, collision, shelter and security of some elements within the social set up and administration, no gang can survive for long. By extenting his cooperation a harbourer is responsible for perpetuating this vicious system. Katare (1972 :163) rightly observes that a harbourer is a pivot of dacoity system.<sup>1</sup> This is a known fact that persons help the dacoits by providing them food, shelter, daily usable articles and informations for their safety, but after a incubation period the harbourers themselves jumps into dacoity due to police pressure or other causes. Thus, in this process not only dacoits harboured but the total system is also survived.

Singh (1980 : 61) defines, "A harbourer is, in fact, a white collar criminal who functions under the guise of a law abiding citizen and is decidedly a blight on society."<sup>2</sup> Broadly we may say that a person who directly or indirectly helps the dacoits can be termed a harbourer. The harbourer vary from the poor and the rich, from close relations to ordinary citizens and friends. The gamut is large enough to include Government officials and public man in the revenue, police and sometimes, even in the legislative assemblies.

1. Katare, S.S., 1972: The Pattern of Dacoity in India, p. 143,  
S. Chand & Company, New Delhi.

2. Singh, R.G., 1980: op. cit., p. 61.

All kinds of harbourer may be classified into three broad categories:

- i. Suppliers of Arms and Ammunition,
- ii. Informers,
- iii. Suppliers of essential articles.

i. Suppliers of Arms and Ammunition:- Those who provide arms, ammunition for the gang's arsenal and keep an eye on its maintenance. The whole area including Chambal was once governed by fidal lords, when there was no restriction on the purchase and collection of arms, almost all members of the aristocracy, as also the entire upper strata possessed arms, while the lower orders either purchased, pilfered or looted them from the lords and their men. Easy availability of arms is one more factor which made dacoity and murder very frequent and common crime in the district of Doab. Before Independance the foreign rulers had denied their subjects the elementary right to bear arms for self defence, but the state lords allowed their public to have even the firearms. For instance, in the state of Gwalior no licence for possession or purchase of even firearms was necessary.<sup>1</sup>

The second major source of easy availability of arms and ammunition are army and police armouries. It is a known fact that the inhabitants of Doab and Chambal regions since long have been joining the police and military services. Having contacts with their family members, intermediates or direct with

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1. Margolkar, V., 1974: op.cit., p. 206.

outlaws, some of them continuous try to pass the arms and ammunition to the gangs. The persons employed in forces come to their homes on leave and supply arms and ammunition illegally to the outlaws which is a major handicap for police to check.

An illicit traffic in arms also obtained in the border area. Large quantities of arms and ammunition were smuggled out of the operation areas. The arms abandoned by the army, especially during the Indo-China and Indo-Pakistan and Bangla-Desh war, were sold through some intermediaries to the dacoit gangs. The report of Bhind Crime Situation Inquiry Committee of 1953 had drawn pointed attention to these sources and to the fact of the easy availability of arms.<sup>1</sup> Nargolkar (1974:206) reports, "The name of Lal Singh, who was an armourer at Babina (Jhansi) in Indian army, had once become notorious as smuggler of arms from the army arsenal."<sup>2</sup> Thus, the easy availability of all kinds of weapons and ammunition has made the problem of dacoity complex.

When we consider the ammunitions the gangs reportedly use during the course of their operations and which are recovered following the encounters or arrest, we can see the significance of the question of supply of such material. For instance see the recovery of firearms during anti-dacoity operation since first January 1982 to thirty first December 1983, (Table XXIII) actually, the massive scale of military hardware in the form

1. Nargolkar, V., 1974: op. cit., p. 207.

2. Ibid. p. 206.

of automatic and semi automatic weapons, ammunition and hand grenades find its way to outlaws is a matter of grave concern.

The acquisition and replenishment of arms and ammunition by the dacoit has been constantly baffling the authorities. No weapon from country made pistol to powerful telescopic rifle, from hand grenade to light machine gun, is found beyond the reach of the dacoits. Scores of 303 rifles and hand grenades and dozens of L.M.Gs and T.M.Cs have been recovered by these organised gangs supports the suspicion that the gangs received unauthorized arms and ammunition from army and police sources.

An arrested dacoit in Uttar Pradesh accepted the fact that some military officers sold the arms to Chhabiram gang.<sup>1</sup> Another arrested dacoit also accepted that he has managed a number of rounds from military for ten thousand rupees.<sup>2</sup> Actually, an illicit traffic in arms is an age old problem in these dacoits infested regions. In an interview with Giriraj Shah (S.P.) ex-dacoit chief disclosed that there are some forty white collar criminals (businessmen) in only Chambal area who provide or manage the arms and ammunition to outlaws.<sup>3</sup> In the same way the gangs also manage to procure the stolen arms and ammunition from the police and military armoury.<sup>4</sup>

1. Nav Bharat Times, 17th March, 1982, New Delhi.

2. Arrested Dacoit, Vijayendra Aaj, 5th May, 1982, Kanpur.

3. Shah, G., Dharmayug, p. 88 44, 11th April, 1982, New Delhi.

4. Pioneer, 9th March, 1982, Lucknow.

The main problem is the supply of versatile country made weapons. Their manufacturing centres have been located in rural area as well as industrialized cities.<sup>1</sup> A number of weapons have been seized in dacoits infested areas from time to time and manufacturers arrested, but this is no permanent solution to the problem. If we can control the supply of ammunition, the presence of such country made weapons will stand defeated. Actually, these country made pistols or Kattas which fire not only 12 bore ammunition but also bullets of different bores by simple expedient of fitting adjusters inside the barrels of these Kattas. The manufacturers of these pistols are generally local technicians who repair and prepare them.<sup>2</sup>

It is found that there is some sort of fascination among the people of these areas for possessing arms. A gun is in a way a status symbol. Today a gun is not only the means of safety or a symbol of power, behind its glamour there is a commercial use of these licenced or illegal arms, as most of the dacoits chieftains accepted that they also managed the arms from harbourers on hired price which depends on the quality of arms.<sup>3</sup>

1. (a) In the village Meerapur P/S Shivpur, Varanasi, an illegal arms factory run by a dacoit was captured. The factory owner accepted that till now he had supplied some two thousand country made pistols. (Jagaran, 18th May, 1982, Jhansi).
- (b) A Illegal Arms Factory in Lucknow, Bhaskar, 18.12.81, Jhansi.
2. Illegal Arms Factory with Technicians was Captured, (Aaj, 24th February, 1982, Kanpur).
3. Aaj, 5th August, 1982, Kanpur.

ii. Informers:- Every gang develops into own network of informers. The informers are mostly public men. They may be government officials, members of police department and others from civil and state departments. Generally in remote villages the poormen also help the dacoits providing informations, about police operations. These informers receive regular rewards, a share of loot and gratifications for services rendered to the gangs.

On the situation Singhal comments, "To make matters worse, whether it is for reasons political or mercenary or even plain fear, the fact remains that the gang gets the information of police movements with vastly greater accuracy and promptness than what the police manage to get in respect of the gangs. The police thus function under a perpetual handicap vis-a-vis the gang."<sup>1</sup>

A gang likes to be fed information on these matters;

- (a) the movements and plan of the police,
- (b) movements of police informers,
- (c) Information about wealthy persons and their property,
- (d) Information about kidnappee.

The informations about the movement and plan of the police generally, leak through policemen and persons related to police circle, policemen and even Chaukidars feed the information about police operations to the gangs.

1.. Singhal, B.P., 1982: Workshop On Regional Dacoity Problem And Its Eradication, p. 27, Fatehgarh.

Singhal comments on the role of police in harbouring the dacoits, "The police too like the rest of society have their share of totally unscrupulous, dishonest and depraved individuals. Instances are not lacking where not only station officers but even senior police officers up to the rank of an S.P. (in one particular state) have been having not only links with these organized gangs but in some cases, have been even sharing their loot and ransom money also."<sup>1</sup>

A core member of Chhabiram gang, Mathura Singh also support the fact that in Etah district a police station in-charge was connected with the gang. This fellow supplied a dress of S.P. for nine hundred rupees. He also confessed that some policemen of Yadav caste supplied some secret informations about police to the gang.<sup>2</sup>

The involvement of police with dacoit gangs is so deep that some corrupt policemen do not only furnish the secret informations about police movement but also give their acquiesce to plunder. Singhal (1982 : 28) also finds, "There are also instances where understandings have been arrived at by some unscrupulous police officers whereby the gang is granted a free from free asylum in their area on the understanding that they shall commit depredations only in other police circles and make sure that their own circles remain free from their depredations."<sup>3</sup>

1. Singhal, B.P., 1982: Workshop , op. cit., p. 27.

2. New Bharat Times, 17th March, 1982, New Delhi.

3. Singhal, B.P., 1982: Workshop, op. cit., p. 28.

Generally, on the other hand the police informers are corrupt and antisocial elements who are forced to witness in all kind of trials on behalf of police. Hence they are protected by police, so they also indulge in antisocial activities which catapults hostility in rural environment in these areas. In spite of false security of police such persons could not be saved from the attack of dacoit gangs. Their murders are frequently committed by outlaws.<sup>1</sup> Recently, dacoit gangs chieftains Matola raided a police informer, Munnalal's house with some forty men and cut off the head of the police informer with shouting - 'See one and all, this is the fate of police dalal'.<sup>2</sup> This gruesome display by gangs of bandits is meant to instil a sense of fear among those who informed the police about their movements. So, to help the police is bound to be risky.

Informations about the wealthy persons and their property are generally furnished by the professional harbourers, poor servants, weaker party of a village, the influential persons of village, rivals and the aristocrats who feel frustrated by having lost their privileges. For such persons aid to dacoits may yield immediate gains.

As the most of dacoit gangs have changed their modus operandi, they prefer kidnapping instead of dacoity.

1. Aaj, 6th June, 1982, Kanpur.

2. Aaj, 25th July, 1983, Kanpur.

iii. Suppliers of Essential Articles:- Supplies of essentials provide food, clothing medical aid, shelter and other items of daily needs. Besides it, they manage the purchase and sale of looted ornaments and other articles. They also take care for the family, property and agricultural pursuits of dacoits.

Those who provide informations or work for the intelligence circuit belong either to the poor strata of society or are the graft takers from the higher and lower ranks of the police and administrative set up. But those working under this third category generally come from the upper sections of society, and play a vital role in the maintenance of gang.

This class of harbourers includes influential land-lords of the area who use their power and resources to help and protect the dacoits and their families. Although the police as much as the people, of the area know of this, they dare not oppose, intervene or put obstacles to this ganut, in as much for fear of reprisals as for their own sense of obligation to the dacoits for favours granted.

These harbourers, either directly or through their agents, attempt to buy off the police and other departmental officials by graft. Official who deny to take bribes and connive at these criminal activities are victimised by departmental intrigues in which the harbourers get them implicated in false charges.

A gang leader maintains direct personal contacts with harbourer or through intermediaries. Most of the dacoit chieftains excepted that they preferred to avoid intermediaries.

### CASTE AND KIN PROTECTION

people become dacoits because of querrels, fights and feuds among members of their own caste and kinship groups as well as intercaste conflict and rivalties. But once a person becomes a dacoit, it is mostly from his caste and kinship circle that he gets support and assistance.

However, it is not of much importance as to who and for what reasons one become dacoit. What is more important here is the social hideout, cushion or shelter provided for their absorption, making them strong and sustainable. It is this section of our society - harbourers - which in the grab of good citizenry comes forward to share with dacoits and the booty and spoils of bloody business of dacoity. As stated earlier, it is comprised mostly of the people of the upper strata - the rich Brahmins, Rajput, landlords and the people of middle caste like Kachhi, Yadav, Lodhi, Kurmi etc. who are directenants. The evolution of Zamidari system have profited to these middle caste people. But on the other hand, the fortunes of upper caste have been threatened by the advent of the new era of economic changes and social transformation. This contradiction has created many troubles among the people of rural villages. Hence, by creating a reign of terror through dacoity system, these caste somehow have been succeeded in gaining their social and economic interests by making the gangs their instruments.

The mass massacre of Jhadhopur, Phulrai, Kunwarpur, Jakh, Deoli and Ujhain Pakirpur evidently show the fact that caste protection to dacoit gangs is common in dacoit infested regions in Uttar Pradesh.<sup>1</sup>

Besides it, the next of kin bask in the glory and sun-shine of the outlaws. It is common for relatives of dacoit to exalt in their closeness. This is the reason that most of dacoits have their genealogy from the old gang leaders. In a single case of chieftain Janak Singh, it is found that there are seven relatives of him who have surrendered with him at Bateshwar (Agra) in 1976. Most of the dacoits chieftains have accepted that their remote relatives helped and provided protection during the dacoity span.

#### POLITICAL PROTECTION

If we throw light into the political protection of dacoit gangs, we find that the organised gang of dacoit exercised their influence in general elections which take place time to time. In remote rural areas contesting candidates take helps to win the elections. Gang leaders are reported to be taking keen interest in the elections. They coerce and compel people to vote for the candidates they endorse. Garg mentioned that during the elections of 1952 Chambal valley dacoit gangs terrorised to caste their votes in favour of a particular candidates, which was resented by another dacoit gang.<sup>2</sup>

1. See, Mass Murder Incidences.

2. Garg, R.P., 1965: op. cit., p. 38.

Its also fact that elections are over, the winning candidates are often obliged to them and have to show consideration. They provide protection at the time of trouble. A senior police officer disclosed the fact in an interview to Dharmayug that dacoit Chhabiram stayed at the Royal Hostel (Vidhayak Niwas) in Lucknow in the month of May - June 1981.<sup>1</sup>

Instances are not lack when these notorious dacoits give money and other helps for election campaign.<sup>2</sup> Beside it, the scandal of Latori Singh (M.L.A.) and the murder of Satish Sharma (M.L.A.) is a well known example of dacoit politician allegiance.<sup>3</sup>

#### DIVISION OF LOOTED BOOTY

A gang's major sources of income are loot, ransom, levy (Chouth) and tika or najar etc. It is reported by daily News Papers that dacoits collected levy from the villages of Banda Districts (Daily, 'Aaj' 1.9.82, Kanpur and Dainik Jagaran, 25.12.80, Jhansi). Besides it, extortions are generally wrung out from businessmen, contractors of forests and mines, owners of buses and trucks serving on high ways that fall within the area of a dacoit gang. Income derived by a gang from all the above sources is deposited with the leader of the gang.

The distribution of income is a delicate matter in a gang. So they adopt some conventional method in distributing the

1. Sampahik Hindustan: p. 11, 10th January, 1982, New Delhi.

2. See, The Case History of Dacoit Faumi.

3. See, Murder Case Studies of Satish Sharma (M.L.A.).

looted booty. It is found that first of all the general expenses are met out of the total income. What remains is distributed among the active members. In small or unorganized gangs there is no provision for intelligence or welfare budgets specially in Bundelkhand region but every established gang makes a provisions for the following items before distribution of loot among its members:

(1) Gang Expenditure:- This includes all the expenses from food, clothing, and other necessary articles required for the gang in the maintenance of it. Besides it, there are several type of small expenditures are also charge to this account.

(2) Commission to Harcourers:- The commission paid to harbourers is also charged before distribution the loot and ransom money. The leader of a major gangs maintain a network of informers whose commissions depend on the kind of information or services rendered to the gang. Besides it, some money has been kept to exploit the venality of police authorities occassionally. Actually, this depend on the pressure of the police and other factors.

(3) Donation and Welfare Budget:- In established gang some money is donated to perform religious activities. As a rule the dacoits are deeply religious. Worshippers of Durga, Kali and local deity and Shiva, the symbols of bravery and success, they perform religious acts and sacrifices regularly. This is a old tradition that in almost every gang some money is kept apart for defraying the expenses of punya. Some money is paid to poor ones and for the families of those who have have sacrificed their lives or have been disabled in the service of a gang. This

ensures the loyalty of the existing members of gang.

Now, the remaining income is distributed among the members of the gang. The member who has not got the status of an active members of gang, generally, has no claim except food, clothing and some pocket money from the general budget. During the field work discussing with some surrendered dacoit leaders it is found that in Doab region the division of looted booty depends on the quality and availability of weapon. This rule is also exercised in Chambal area as Singh (1980:57) and Khan (1981:160-63) mentioned. According to this rule each member, including the leader has a share. Besides it, the rest of amount is distributed according to the following scheme: (i) Automatic gun: 4 shares, (ii) 303 rifle or Mouser: 3 shares (iii) 12 bore: 2 shares; and (iv) ordinary gun or a dacoit without a gun: 1 share.

In Doab and Chambal regions arms and ammunition are managed by the gang leader. Owing to this convention the gang leader gets more than the usual shares. In Bundelkhand region the gang leader generally does not exploit the gang members on the renting of arms and ammunition. It may be that the gang leader may take a big share but generally the gang members are treated equally in the matter of share. It is sure that the price of a gun is realised from a member in instalments.

In answer to a question it is reported that there is no fix income in this profession. Most of the gang leaders excepted that the income depends on the chances and favourable conditions for operation. If police pressure is tight, we

sit calm and cool. When resistance is weak dacoity is high. Violent reaction of police affects the movements of dacoit gangs.

#### UTILITY OF THE PROFESSION

It is known fact that utility plays an important role in perpetuating and determining the system. Dacoits and the harbourers have a vested interest in strengthening the dacoit gangs and the system to reap more profits and benefits out of it. At individual level a man joins the gang for revenge, for shelter, for life evocations, jobs or for money. On the other hand there is a section of society who works for gangs outside. The corrupt officials, local leaders, people of dominant caste in villages who harbourer the gangs have their vested interest in perpetuating the problem.

Under the influence of dacoit gangs, some of the people succeeded in getting forests contacts for roads and canal constructions, quarring in the ghats, and stone mines at nominal rates in remote rural areas. Singhal (1982 :27) finds, "No other contractor or party dare quote a rupee higher than the bid quoted by the 'blessed' nominee. The auctions in these areas are a sham. Even if anyone dare to quote higher, he soon realises to severe cost in terms of life and money that he can not function at all." These blessed persons also indulge in open smuggling business in the bordered area and also dealing in contraband. Thus, dacoity has assumed the stature of a well knit industry with multifarious interests.

It is evidently fact that utility, monetary or otherwise is what gives dacoity its near permanent tenancy right in these regions. People of police and army who indulge in gun running also receives and dispose of looted property. Their business would come to an end if dacoity perishes. Therefore, these people would always try to create a situation to perpetuate dacoity.

Why some of the gangs enjoy political protection and police finds it difficult to arrest the harbourer of these gangs.<sup>1</sup> The gangs back the local politicians as well as member of legislative assemblies. Dacoits and harbourers work as their political agents during elections. With the help of criminals a reign of terror is created to cast the votes in the favour of a particular candidate. Besides it, these people gain monetary profits from dacoits. On the grave situation Kothari comments, "But in the recent past, links have been established between the dacoit and the policemen and between the dacoit and the politician. For regular payments, depending on status and loot, the police offer protection. They turn a blind eye to the presence of a dacoit gang in their areas."<sup>2</sup>

Has there been no gain from dacoity, for both the protagonists and their harbourers, it would not have been able to survive successfully so far so long. Singh (1980) concludes, "The gamut of the utilitarian function is large and includes protection, shelter, a quick vengeance, employment, adventure,

1. Editorial: Nav Bharat Times, March 6, 1982, New Delhi.

2. Kothari, S.: Indian Express Magazine, February 20, 1983, Article, "The Land of Rising Gun", New Delhi.

security and money gains that out bid the stray demands to scotch the system and bring it to heel."<sup>1</sup>

In fact, those who work for the gangs directly or indirectly they either receive handsome rewards or use the power of their association to raise their own status or to achieve other objectives.

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1. Singh, R.G., 1980: op. cit., p. 94-95.

### MASS MASSACRE

1. Incident of Jadhpur: P.S. Ekdil, Etawah (U.P.):- The village has about 47 families living, out of which 17 are of Chamars, 10 of Ahirs, 4 of Carpenters, 1 of Nai, 9 of Gadarias, 4 Kori and 2 of Dhanuk. The victims of gang were all Chamars who lived in one end of the village except a Kori who was also accidentally shot dead. On 9th October '79 at mid night the gang of Geetam Gadaria killed total 12 persons and also set fire to 10 houses and hutsments.

The motive for Geetam's wrath is that in January 1977 his gang committed a dacoity in the house of Chhaki Lal. His two sons sleeping nearby room got up and caught hold of Geetam on the spot. He was badly beaten by Chamars at that time. His four fingers of right hand had also smashed with a spade. One SBBT gun was also recovered from him in that encounter with the villagers. Geetam was convicted to 7 years. On bail from high-court in December '78 he was out of jail and took revenge from his enemies. In the village Geetam was harboured by Gadarias.<sup>1</sup>

2. Incident of Naktai Village, P/S Aliganj, Etah (U.P.) 1st May '81: In this case the only enmity which had come to light so far was that ex. M.L.A. Satish Chand Sharma's dead body was recovered then Bachhoo Singh gave information to Aliganj police about the location of Mahabirapothi gang and also accompanied the riding police party.<sup>2</sup>

3. Incident of Badanpur, P/S Ochha, Mainpuri (U.P.):- The gang of Chhabbi Ram attacked the village at about 10 p.m. on 13th Nov. 79.

1. Source: Anti Dacoity Cell, Agra (U.P.).
2. Source: Anti Dacoity Cell, Agra (U.P.).

they were about 25 men. They shot dead six persons sleeping outside the house of Mangulal then they dragged out five persons from the house and lined up and shot them. In this mass murder, the only enmity which has come to light so far is that Mangulal has been leased a portion of land to cultivate on behalf of Govt. For the possession of this land there was a dispute between Mangulal and Anar Singh. A relative of Anar Singh was in the gang of Chhabiram. Anar Singh approached him to help.<sup>1</sup>

4. Incident of Sewa Nagla, P/S Aliganj, Etah (U.P.):- After striking at village Naktai on 1.5.81 the gang of Mahabira -Pothi moved to Sewa Nagla at about 9.30 p.m. They asked Suraj Barahai, who was at his home shot dead. The only point of enmity is that about 3-4 years Suraj's niece was married to a person belonging to a village of Mahabira. Mahabira wanted this girl and took away. With the help of the villagers the girl was recovered and Mahabira was handed over to the police. After being released from jail he turned notorious, and took revenge.<sup>2</sup>

5. Murder Case of Satish Sharma (M.L.A.) :- Mr. G.L. Sharma (S.P.) Farrukhabad in an interview told that it was Phoolshri who carried the policemen to that field in which the corpse of Sharma was lying buried. Behind this brutal murder Lateori Singh Yadav (M.L.A.) played his role who had contacted notorious dacoit Mahabira Yadav to slay down Mr. Sharma due to political rivalry. This murder was committed on 17th November, 1980.<sup>3</sup>

6. Kunwarpur Village, P/S Jaithra, Etah (U.P.):- This is a village of complete Jatavas population between 400 to 500. At about 8p.m.

1 & 2. Anti Dacoity Cell, Agra(U.P.).

3. Source: Saptahik Hindustan, 10th January, 1982, New Delhi.

the gang of Mahakira reached the village and assembled the villagers at a central place for a panchayat. They managed line up 10-15 Jatavas and asked them to catch their own ears and become 'Murga'. Then, they shot dead eleven Jatavas including a lady. Before this wrath the gang chieftains said that Jatavas of this village have been informing the police and getting the Ahirs of the area harassed by the police.<sup>1</sup>

7. Behmai Massacre, P/S Deraur, Kanpur (U.P.):- The village Behmai is located on the bank of Yamuna and is 123 Kms. away from Kanpur. The village population is dominated by Thakurs.

On Saturday afternoon of 14th Feb.'81 the gang of Phoolan armed with and dressed in police uniform reached the village under the leadership of Mustkaam dacoit. They surrounded the village and searched for dacoit brother Lalaram-Sriram with loot and pillage but she could not trace out these dacoits. Irrked Phoolan ordered the villagers to assemble before her. She roared, "If you could not produce both of them, I would gun down all of you." All the assembled people nodded their head negatively. They told that they knew nothing about them at this Phoolan ordered her gangmen to derive and told that she would teach them such a lesson, as they would never forget it. Dacoit gang derived some thirty people out of the village towards the riverside. She again asked about both the dacoits but all of them expressed their helplessness. She lined up all the people and ordered to shoot the recalc. Some 20 men died on the spot. With the slogans of Jay Durga, Jay Mustkaam, Vikram, Phoolan etc. the gang departed from the village.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Source: Anti Dacoity Cell, Agra (U.P.).

2. Singh, Khushwant, Saptahik Hindustan, 10th Jan., 1982.

8. Incident of Phulrai, P/S Jaswantnagar, Etawah (U.P.):-

Phulrai is located at a distance of 25 kms. from Etawah and 5 kms. from Jaswantnagar, and is hardly half a km. from Etawah-Agra national highway. Village has approximately 100 houses, 90 percent of which are jadarias. Dacoit Geetam's village is also located at about 4-5 kms. from the place of this incident.

On the night of 2nd December, 79, Geetam gang went to the house of Bare Lal Dhobi and asked him to produce his wife. On reply of Bare Lal that she was not there, the gang personally searched the house. But the dacoits could not see her. Geetam also went in search of her to 'Pradhan's' house where she was said to be present. Geetam dragged Barelal to accompany him to Pradhan's house, while near the Pradhan's house Bare Lal managed to escape and run away which is ..... Geetam and his gang. Thereafter they raided the house of Rati Ram Dhobi and his mother and looted ornaments of Rs. 3000/- while going to Bare Lal's house again they shot up Bachan Singh Thakur who got up by chance.

On reaching the Barelal's house they set it on fire where his two little children, one nephew and mother all were burnt to death. Motive behind this case seems to be a case u/s 376 IPC of 1977 in which Bare Lal had lodged a complaint against some gadarias of the village Phulrai. Bateshwari is one of the associate of Geetam whose against the case was filed.

The most important part of the entire incident is that none of Gadarias came out to help Barelal's family and even to

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Source:- Anti Dacoity Cell, Agra (U.P.).

see what had happened. None of the villagers even went to P.S. in the morning.

Geetam searched Bari Lal's wife because she is a complainant of a case of rape (crime No. 132/77 U/S 376 IPC dated 1.7.77 of P.S. Jaswant Nagar) against four villagers of the same village who are Gadarias by caste and one of whom Bateshwari is a member of Geetam's gang.

#### 9. Incident of Jakh, District Mainpuri:- October 15, 1980:-

Jakh is a village in the district of Mainpuri. Almost all castes live in the village but Thakurs and Yadavas are dominant caste. Long ago a dispute on female gave birth to the conflict between Yadavas and Thakurs in which Bhagwan Das Yadav was murdered. Enraged with this the people of Yadav caste contacted with some Yadav gangs of dacoits in order to become superior and powerful. Meanwhile Kunwarpal Yadav, a member of Yadav gang was murdered by a Thakur and another Yadav Rakhanpal was also shot dead. This situation enraged Yadavas and they attacked on 31st July 1981 on Thakurs and made them points of their guns. Even some bad elements raped their females also. Again, in this connection Anarsingh Yadav gang made a plan to attack on Thakurs on 9th May 1981 which resulted into killing of six policemen including a sub police inspector who were appointed for the defence of Thakurs.

In fact in this region the Yadavas like Thakurs sought help from dacoits of their caste even in establishing illegal possession on the land of other landowners. Motive behind the above wrath is the inter caste conflict.

Rampura Mass Massacre P/S Ekka, Mainpuri (U.P.) :- The incident which took place on 27th June 1982 was reported to be supported by Dularai Nut and Surandra of Rampura village and was committed by Bhura gang. After making deep investigation two facts were disclosed which were held to be responsible for this mass massacre. The present massacre is related with the incident of dacoity committed on 29th July 1981 in which 19 houses were plundered by dacoits and Shyamal Jatav with his wife was murdered. First Information Report was lodged against some twelve persons by their names including Lal Chand Brahmans with his relative Devendra. Both of them surrendered at court. Out of twelve three persons identified by the villagers which was the root cause of enmity between the parties.

The second important fact is that members of Shyam Lal's family were the witnesses for the case of 29th July 1981. Before the trial day they were murdered.<sup>1</sup>

Deoli Mass Massacre P/S Ochha, Mainpuri (U.P.) :- The most tragic mass massacre took place on 18th November, 1981 in a small village, Deoli. The village Deoli is about 40 kms. from Agra, and consists of 35 Thakur families, 16 Muslims, 16 Dhobies, 15 families of Jatavas, 4 Valnikis and 16 Khatiks.

Though, there was no enmity between other caste except Thakurs and Jatavas who were the rivals of each other. The dacoit Radhe and Santosh belong to Thakur caste. They managed to gun down 25 Jatavas including 7 ladies. According to available information the root cause of the mass massacre was caste rivalry.

1. Source: Dinman, Weekly, 11-17 July 1982, p. 22, New Delhi.

The other aspect of the massacre, reveals that some Jatavas also had their free hands in dacoities and pillage with Radhe and Santosha. Later on they split into factions on some issue. In some trial cases related to the gang members of Radhe and Santosha gang the Jatavas were the witnesses. Enraged with these regions Radhe and Santosha committed this massacre.

Dastampur Massacre P/S Derapur, Kanpur (U.P.):- The village Dastampur is located some 60 kms. far from Kanpur on Kanpur - Rura-Derapur road. On 27th June, 1982 the gang of Muslim reached the village by Matador. They were about twenty in number armed with automatic weapons. They surrounded Shivaram's house and started gunning. They shot down ten persons including 2 children and a newly married woman, then they plundered the village.

The motive of Motorious dacoit Muslim behind the wrath is to take revenge of his cousin, dacoit Mustkeem's death. When Mustkeem was going to Dastampur on 4th March 1981, he was caught hold by a police inspector but he knocked him down. It was a matter of chance that Shivaram and Ganga Charan Yadav were on the spot who freed police inspector from the grip of Mustkeem and helped in making arrest the dacoit.

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Source: Dharmayug, May 30, 1982, p. 15, New Delhi.

CASE HISTORY

Vikram S/O Kanhai vill. Guhani (Kanpur):- Vikram was a boy of sturdy physique and arrogant nature. In his early life he professed rowing and assisted his father in the business of green grocer. His father owed some money which he could not repay the debt. That's why he was beaten and insulted by moneylender. Since he was not of bending nature, some influential person tried to sub due him by framing false cases against him. The result of this harassment was that he murdered a man and absconded to the yawning ravines. During their wandering he came into the contact of some disappointed and tortured fellows. They made a gang and began to commit crimes. Police had to open the history sheet on 17th January 1978 (90A). Before it, he was arrested on 18th August 1979. After the release on bail he became dacoit.

Khardushan alias Ram Kishore: Village Bagaiyan, Banda:- His early education started in Rasin village, Karvi and Atarra. But he could not receive his education properly, due to poor economic conditions. The habit of spending lavishly with economic hardships made him petty criminal. His family background facilitated him to be an outlaw. His uncles Ram Sajivan and Ram Chandra were notorious dacoits.

The whole area is dominated by Kurmis, who have given protection. In July 1973 he was arrested under arms act 25 and section 64. Then, on bail he committed a dacoity in Fatehganj area and organised a strong gang. Due to police pressure he surrendered at the court in 1979 with his gang. The people did not dare to identify him. After three months he came out on bail and murdered a man in broad day light. Now he absconded and became a terror in the forest of Chitrakut. He was killed in 1981.

Mahavira S/O Ramprasad, Swargadhari (Patiali) Etah (U.P.):-

Mahavira belonged to a poor family. His early life passed like an orphan due to the death of his father. His brother is blind. His father had a small piece of land. He was employed as an agricultural labourer. Due to economic hardships he could not get his education properly. He was charged under section 25, arms act twice. Ill habits and poor economic conditions motivated him to be an outlaw. His gang was harboured by his castemen. He was contacted for the murder of Mr. Satish Sharma (17.11.80) by Latori Singh Yadav a M.L.A. of that area.

Source: Anti Dacoity Cell, Uttar Pradesh, Agra.

Chhabiram S/O Niranjan, Vill. Harnagpur, Mainpuri (U.P.):- Thirty nine year old, a man of sturdy physique, Chhabiram was known as Netaji in his area. He was the murderer of some 40 policemen and above hundred persons. He belongs to a poor peasant family. In beginning of his career he used to give food and shelter for German and Alwar gangs. His antisocial activities came in the light in 1969. He was very cunning dacoit. When police pressed him, he absconded and joined the gang of dacoits. Later on he himself made a strong gang.

He adopted tactful strategies during the police encounters. Most of the gang members in his gang were Yadavas. He was protected and harboured by his castmen and local political leader. Due to strong political support he convinced for surrender even by police personnels. He lavishly spent the money to build his 'robinhood image' in his area.

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Source: Anti Dacoity Cell, Uttar Pradesh, Agra.

Ramautar S/O Lal Diwan Mallah, vill. Kota-Murlipur, Jalaun(U.P.):-

Notorious dacoit Ramautar was born in a poor and backward family of Mallah caste. He possessed a good physique. He was bold and fearless. Due to in sociolisation he came into the contact of dacoit Vikram, because Vikram had a relation in his village. In an encounter with police on July 17, 1979 he was arrested by police and sent to Urai Jail from where on bail he came out and joined again the gang Vikram. Later on, when Vikram was murdered by his gang man he made a separate gang. He committed heinous crimes in dacoit infested area of Uttar Pradesh.<sup>1</sup>

SELF STATEMENTVijay Singh S/O Babu Singh, Vill. Padari (Kalpi) Jalaun(U.P.):-

I belong to a village name Padari. I am literate. Before becoming a dacoit, I was a tractor driver. I surrendered myself at the court in dacoity case in 1972. I was acquitted due to lack of evidence in identification. Still, I kept the contact with some gangs. I was an active member of Mustkeem gang and the gang of Chan Snyam. Later on I made a separate gang. Most of the harbourers of my gang were the Thakurs of Jalaun District.

Behind my dacoity career the main reason was that I was trapped in false case of murder due to enmity by some Brahmins and Thakurs. At the same time my employer told me that my name had listed for encounter by police. Therefore I had to absconded and besides it, to join a gang through a relative.<sup>2</sup>

1. Neekhara, J.N.: Dainik Jagaran, August 9, 1981, Jhansi.

2. Anti Dacoity Cell, Uttar Pradesh, Agra.

Malkhan's Hostages:- Interviews with some of the kidnappers who prefer to remain unidentified and diary of Malkhan recovered by the police revealed certain interesting facts about the Modus Operandi of the gang. Malkhan prefers to keep in gang confined to ravines. He never comes out in the open before dark. Malkhan, who himself bears an S.P.'s uniform and keeps with him three weapons round the clock, does not sleep for more than three hours a day. The gang covers a distance of 30 to 40 kms. a day.

The food for the gang is cooked on the spot where the gang takes a breather. The kidnappers are the first to get the meals. Thereafter the gang members and hardcore members have their chow alongwith Malkhan. The gang had two transistors. Gang members loved to listen songs. Malkhan never misses any news bulletin broadcast. Malkhan maintained a very strict discipline in the gang. Almost as a routine the gang members assembled in the morning for a P.T. and cleaning their firearms.

He had a lot of printed letter heads and always carried pen with him. Malkhan who is practically an illiterate, took the help of Ram Prakash Kewat, the treasurer of the gang for writing message, at times demanding money for ransom for a kidnappee. The letters were given to the contactmen often villagers who delivered the letters to the rightmen.

Malkhan at times behave like feudal lords. He is fond like the ancient kings of verses written and sung in his praise and glory. For this purpose he had kidnapped a poet of sorts and made him compose an innovative 'Allha' which records the courageous deeds of Malakha during encounter, said the kidnappers. The dairy containing the 'Allha' and gang budget was recovered by police. ( Source: Pioneer, Lucknow, April 12, 1982).

**CHAPTER I V**

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**ECOLOGICAL BASE OF DACTY**

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### ECOLOGICAL BASE OF DACOITY

In the preceding chapters some basic elements of the dacoity system were outlined in a discussion of some major reasons and conditions which promoted dacoity as a life pursuit. Dacoity, as we have seen, is not a manifestation of individual factor, although, a product of multiplicity of factors, including the psychological, economic and ecological but it is by nature, origin and continuance largely a sociological concern.

In this chapter we will attempt to highlight some ecological factors which certainly fed if not bred the dacoity in these regions. Before examining the ecological factors as supporting elements in dacoity, we intend to put here some ecological considerations observed by previous scholars. A few scholars, Khan (1981), Katare (1972) have made an attempt to apply the ecological approach in studying the problem from ecosystem point of view but their focus has remained limited to the typology offered by Duncun (1959 : 683-84).<sup>1</sup> Khan concludes that chambal valley tends to sustain itself as a somewhat separate ecosystem or subcultural area and puts, "likewise, the topography of the valley signified by ravines, and the acquiescent group attitude towards brigandage, seem to act as sustenance factors."<sup>2</sup>

On the other hand Singh (1980 : 70) observes, "Although

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1. Khan, M.Z., 1981: op. cit., p. 18.

2. Ibid..... p. 201.

the superstition that relates criminal propensity to physiographic conditions is a question to be scrutinised carefully, it is nonetheless true that the peculiar ecological setting of the area has fostered the institution and help it thrive for centuries.<sup>1</sup>

It is undeniable that ecological factors support the institution of dacoity. These factors positively contribute towards the crystallisation of dacoity-proneness among the people of these areas. The deep ravines of Doab region and its tributaries provide a good physiographic hide-outs for the fugitives of the law.

A special feature of these regions is that they are situated in a ravined area, where, moreover, a number of states for a long past adjoining each other. As a result it is not a case of each state having to look after its own resident dacoits, but on other hand, dacoits originating in one state often find shelter in another state where they have relatives or otherwise find conditions more suitable for their shelter. Beside it, the socio-economic conditions always depend upon the geographical conditions of the area. Therefore, the typical ecological features of dacoits infested regions, if analysed, would reveal the nature of economy also.

The region of Doab is situated in the heart of Ganga-Yamuna plain, while Bundelkhand region lies in the vast stretch

1. Singh, R.G., 1980: op. cit., p. 70.

of land located between south of Yamuna and Deccan plateau. In fact, the Bundelkhand area owes its kinship more with the central Indian plateau than that of Doab region. In this region, the hills are mostly the part of eastern Vindhyan which cut the area of Bundelkhand into many scattered ranges. The Vindhyan-chala range, which is no place exceeds 2000 feet in height above sea level.

#### RIVER SYSTEM

Ganga-Yamuna Doab occupies a very significant portion in the state of Uttar Pradesh. Most important among the rivers of this Indo-Gangatic plain are Ganga, Yamuna and its tributary Chambal, from which the region derives its name - Ganga-Yamuna Doab. Main tributaries of these rivers are Sirsa, Uttangan, Sengar, Kalinadi, Burhi Ganga, Isan, Arind, Karwan, Patwala and Karon. Besides the above mentioned tributaries there are several other small and insignificant rainfed rivulets. Where these rivers are beneficial to the region, they are havoc in the rainy season and constitute a distinctive topography due to the erosion of soil.

Chambal rises in western Ghats, about 50 miles west of Indore, flows north for 300 miles. After passing Katah, it changes its direction north east for 200 miles and then turns shapely south east for about 100 miles before meeting the Yamuna in Etawah District. It passes through the states of Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh. Much lower down it forms the boundary between Gwalior and Agra and Etawah districts of Uttar Pradesh.

The rivers of Bundelkhand belong to Yamuna system and consist of Ken, Betwar, Pahuj, Dhasan, Bagain, Pausuni and numerous tributaries. Yamuna flows with gently covering the district of Jalaun, Hamirpur and Banda and ends in Ganga at Allahabad. The Ken is next to Yamuna which rises from the district of Damoh in Madhya Pradesh and covers Banda and Hamirpur. It joins in Yamuna at Chilla Tare. The Betwa rises from the Bhopal Talab and flows towards Lalitpur, Jhansi and then separate, Orai and Kalpi in Jalaun from Hamirpur. The Pahuj starts its origin from Gwalior and flows through Jhansi, reaches Jalaun where it joins the Sind. The Bagain issues from a hill in Panna (M.P.) and joins Yamuna in Kamasin Tehsil of Banda. Besides Dhasan, Jamani and Shahjad in Lalitpur, there are many rivulets worth naming, although they too happen to be rain fed.

#### NATURE OF SOIL

The Doab region constitutes an extension of the upper Ganga plain, having made by the alluvial deposit of the river Ganga, Yamuna and its tributaries. The soils of this area exhibit for less variety of composition and appearance. The whole of the tract forms plain of recent alluvium with different textural names, viz. loamy, loamy sand, clayed loam and sandy loam. Broadly, the alluvial soil has been divided into two groups, i.e. old Banger and new Kankar or Khadar.

In some district of Doab a considerable areas are occupied by Usar as reh lands which being impregnant with

alkalies are converted swamps in the rainy season and into deserts in dry season. The concentration of Usar tracts is maximum in Kannauj and Chhibranau in Farrukhabad, south west portion of Mainpuri, some part of Etah and a major portion of Bah Tensil in Agra. The total extend of Usar soil in Uttar Pradesh has been estimated to be 6 lak acres.<sup>1</sup> Beside it, Agra, Kanpur, Etawah and Farrukhabad have the areas, mostly affected by another problem of water logging.

The well known soils of Bundelkhand area are mar, Kabar, Parwa and Rankar. It varies greatly in colour, consistency and fertility. The soil of low land in Banda consists partly of the detribus of Deccan trap and partly of Gangatic alluvium.<sup>2</sup> The surface formation of Jalaun district is entirely different. The high land's border of 'Khadar valley' of Betwa and Pahuj while low lands occupy the central tract which break up into a network of ravines along the river bank of Yamuna.<sup>3</sup> In Bundelkhand the black soil have large areas always follow of Kans grown.

There are a few characteristics of the soils found in these regions. They are as follows:

1. The soil of Bundelkhand is mainly of residual in its origin

1. Kapooria, V., 1970: Agricultural Geography of Ganga-Yamuna Doab p. 52, Ph.D. Thesis, Agra University, Agra.
2. Drake, Brockman, D.L., 1909: Banda: A Gazetteer, vol.XXI, p.6.
3. Drake, Brockman, D.L., 1909: Jalaun: A Gazetteer, vol.XXV, p.1

while the soil of Doab has been subjected to change brought by soil particles by the rivers.

2. The soil of Bundelkhand never helps the formation of good cultivated soil, due to the genesis of Granite quartzes which is generally of shallow and medium depth while in Doab the depth of soil is thick.
3. In Doab the fertility of soil is higher than Bundelkhand because of shallow depth.

#### NATURAL VEGETATION

A general reference may be made to the natural vegetation of these regions. In Doab the forests are semi-zero-phytic in nature with consisting of thorny bushes type. The trees in the dry season are leafless for the most part and the grasses and herbs get disicated and burnt up in the hot season.

In Agra, the flora in the north of Yamuna is that of Doab type Kadam, Kuril, Neem, Seesham, Bel, Gular, Jamun, Mahuwa, Shahtul tec. are common while south of the river it resembles that of Rajputana. Mainpuri district is well wooded with Mango and seesham, Dhak, Babul. The weed Baisuri (*Pluchea lanceolata*) and Kans are sometimes troublesome in the sandy soil.

In Etah Katarigarh through out the entire Tarai area which covered by thick and long Moonj grasses. Palm, Seesham, Neem, Babul are also found intermixed with Dhak. In Farrukhabad, the flora presents no peculiarity, Palm, Babul and Dhak are common trees. The spread of Kans is a peculiar problem in these districts.

The flora of Etawah is that of the plains generally. The chief tree growing are Dhak and varieties of Acadia. The ravines are generally covered with thorny bushes. In the Kanpur, the species found are of the ordinary varieties common to Deob.

In Bundelkhand, the topography presents a contrast of plains and hills and the rivers and woods. There is a variety of forests, in this area. The northern half of the Hamirpur is not distinguished by the growth of any sort. In south many of the hills in Mahoba and Kalpahar are covered with jungles and in the riverine tract, there is a generally miscellaneous jungles of small and stunted type. The trees that grow in greatest profusion in these forest tracts are the Tandu, Babul, Mahuwa, Semal, Fig, Rionj and Khair.<sup>1</sup>

The good quality of Dhak grows in Babaru and Badausa tahsils of Banda district where it became dense. The Patha tract of Mau and Kurvi tahsils, particularly where this approaches the hills, always contained some forests. The chief trees and shrubs growing here are the Karaunda, Kareli, Rain, Khair, Chamrail, Mahua, ignota and Shanjan.<sup>2</sup> In Jalaun the trees which grows in luxuriance are the Babul and scattered neem besides Mahua. Apart from this like other portions of Bundelkhand it is liable to incursions of Kans which frequently grows in Laltpur, Jhansi and Jalaun.

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1. Drake, Brockman, D.L., 1909: Hamirpur: A Gazetteer, vol.XXII, pl4

2. Drake, Brockman, D.L., 1909: Banda: A Gazetteer, vol.XXI, pp.22-25.

Percentage of forest area with respect to geographical and districtwise per capita forest are given below:

TABLE : XXIV

Districtwise Forest Area (1979)

S.No.	District	Geographi- cal Area (Sq.Km.)	Forest Area (Sq.Km)	% of Forest area W.r.t. Geographical area	Per capita Forest area (hectare)
1.	Agra	4816	423.73	8.80	0.015
2.	Brahm	4449	11.69	0.26	0.001
3.	Mainpuri	4254	68.30	1.63	0.004
4.	Etawah	4327	398.20	9.20	0.023
5.	Parrukhabad	4349	56.32	1.30	0.003
6.	Kanpur	6121	119.71	1.96	0.003
7.	Badaun	5158	69.03	1.34	0.004
8.	Jhansi	5027	325.44	6.47	0.032
9.	Banda	8645	855.63	11.19	0.061
10.	Hemirpur	7172	372.99	5.19	0.032
11.	Jalaun	4549	265.00	5.83	0.028
12.	Lalitpur	5042	669.95	13.29	0.135
Total		62909	3636.00	5.55	0.28

Source: Forest Statistics Uttar Pradesh, 1978-79, Lucknow,  
1981.

Etawah (9.20%) and Agra (8.80%) in Doab and Lalitpur (13.29%), Banda (11.19%) and Jhansi (6.47%) in Bundelkhand cover the highest percentage of forest area with respect to geographical area respectively.

### SOIL EROSION AND RAVINES

One of the greatest problem of these regions is soil erosion. Ravines pose the great threat not only to the prosperity of this region but to the social peace also. The accurate records are not available to provide clues regarding the history of ravines in these regions. Kapoor mentions, "The Government of India first realized the gravity of the soil erosion problem in 1915 when it appointed a commission to submit a report on the Etawah and Agra ravine of the Chambal and Yamuna." He adds a harrowing picture given by the Commission in its report, "In Etawah District there is good evidence that 400 years ago, the land, now intersected by in numberable ravines, was level ground. A rough calculation shows that at minimum estimate, during his period, about 1500,00,000 cubic feet of earth have been washed away. This means that for every second of the 400 years, 11 cubic feet of earth have been washed out of the Etawah District."<sup>1</sup>

The ravines in these areas are not of recent origin, their formation is estimated to have gained momentum from 11th century onwards. Dr. R.K. Mukherjee estimated that ravines are 400 years old.<sup>2</sup> Chandra Bhan (1973 : 85) concludes the historical background of ravine formation in these areas:

"The Yamuna ravines are nearly 494 years old, Chambal

1. Kapoor, Bishan, 1960: op. cit., pp. 1-2.

2. Bhan, C., 1973: Soil Erosion; Its Causes, Consequences, and Control In Agra Distt., p. 185, Ph.D. Thesis, Agra University.

ravines are 682 and Utangan (in Agra) ravines are 614 years old. This conclusion is agreement with the Geological history of the country since Chambal, a stream of Peninsular India is the oldest river of the region. The river Yamuna being the youngest one, has young ravines. He further adds "on the basis of river Yamuna near Etawah has lowered its bed by 60 feet during the last 500 years."<sup>1</sup> It can not be said that the history of ravines in these areas, should not be older than 500 years."

The Government of India set up a study team of various ministers. One group under the committee was set up on ravine reclamation to draw a 7 year plan for ravine reclamation for the dacoits infested areas of Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan. The report of ICAR (Nov. 1955 to 1974) described the process of the formation of ravine as follow:

The word 'ravine' is usually associated not with isolated gully but denotes gullied land containing systems of gullies running more or less parallel to each other in deep alluvium and entering a nearly river flowing much lower than the surrounding table lands. The word ravine means a deep gorge. The nature of alluvial soil in which a major river cuts channel very deep from its banks, leads to the problem of the run off from the table land having to negotiate a large vertical fall

1. Jack and Whyte, 1956: Rape of the Earth: A World Survey of Soil Erosion, Fetter and Fetter, (Mc ML VI) quoted from Bhan, C. (1973:186), op. cit.

in a short horizontal distance. Such a situation creates water flow conditions conductive to rapid development of gullies running the area along the river banks and forming what we call the ravines. Once a ravine is formed, it grows by the phenomenon of saturation and slip of its head and sides. Depending upon the soils, geology, vegetation, topography and the run off from the watershed, different shapes and sizes of the ravines are developed.<sup>1\*</sup>

Similar reasons have been assigned for the formation of the ravines in the report of the National Commission on the agriculture in 1976. As per the report of ICAR the ravines lands in Uttar Pradesh occupy 1.230 million hectare which is highest among the other ravine effected states. Gross and socio-economic ally problematic area under ravine in India are represented in given tables:

TABLE :XXV

Statewise Area Under Ravines

S.No.	State	Ravine Area Lac Hectare	Dacoits Infested Area	Percentage of Dacoits Infested Area (Lac Hac.)
1.	Uttar Pradesh	12.30	10.11	82.19
2.	Madhya Pradesh	6.83	6.83	100.00
3.	Rajasthan	4.52	4.02	88.94
4.	Gujrat	4.00	--	--
5.	Maharashtra	0.20	--	--
6.	Punjab & Haryana	1.20	--	--
7.	Bihar	6.00	--	--
8.	Tamilnadu	0.60	--	--
9.	West Bengal	1.40	--	--
<b>Total</b>		<b>36.69</b>	<b>20.96</b>	<b>57.13</b>

Source: Report, ICAR (Nov. 1955 to 1974) SCRDT, Centre Agra.

It is evident from the table that in Uttar Pradesh 82.19 percent, in Madhya Pradesh 100 percent and in Rajasthan 98.94 percent ravine lands are dacoite infested. In Uttar Pradesh ravine area infested by dacoite is reported 10.11 lac hectare out of which 8.97 lac hectare belongs to the declared dacoite infested district of Uttar Pradesh. In Doab 35.20 percent and in Bundelkhand 37.72 percent are found dacoite infested ravine area. Riverwise ravine lands in Uttar Pradesh are presented in given table:

TABLE :XXXV  
District and Riverwise Ravine Land in U.P.

S.No.	District	Area (Lac Hact.)	River	Area in lac hectares
1.	Agra	1.76	Chenab	0.79
2.	Brahm	0.59	Yamuna	3.89
3.	Mainpuri	0.59	Kali	0.59
4.	Etawah	1.58	Ken	0.20
5.	Parrukhabad	0.40	Gomati	0.32
6.	Kanpur	—	Sengar	0.51
7.	Badaun	—	Betwa	2.27
8.	Jhansi	1.01	Dhasan	0.51
9.	Lalitpur	—	Pahuj	0.53
10.	Banda	1.20	Sai	0.29
11.	Hanipur	1.29	Ganga	0.35
12.	Jalaun	1.14	Son Kaveri	0.77 0.50
	Other Districts	3.33	Sindh	0.48
	Total	12.30	Total	12.30

Source: ICAR Report, (Nov.1955 to 1974) SCBTF, Centre Agra.

Ruinous ravines of river Chambal, Yamuna, Kan, Betwa, Son, Kunwari, Sind and a few others taken a heavy loss of 12.30 hectare of fertile land of Uttar Pradesh. The picture of these areas is especially gruesome. Compared to ravines elsewhere the highest figure of depth have been observed upto 100 feet in Chambal ravine near Pinahat and 81 feet in Yamuna near Garhwal in Agra district.<sup>1</sup> There are various type of ravines in these regions. According to depth width and size a reference of general classification of Yamuna ravine at Agra may be made:<sup>2</sup>

#### Classification of Yamuna Ravines at Agra (U.P.)

Particulars of Ravines	Description and Symbol of Ravine			
	Very Small (G1)	Small (G2)	Medium (G3)	Deep (G4)
1. Depth (Metre)	upto 1	1 to 3	3 to 9	9 to ...
2. Bedwidth "	upto 18	not less than 18	Not less than 18	varies
3. Side slope	varies	varies	6 to 12	sloping more than 12 m.

Source: ICAR, Report (Nov. 1955 to 1974) SCRDT, Centre, Agra.

It is a pity that no further survey and categorisation of ravine lands has been done since the work done by ICAR.

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1. Bhanu, C. 1973: op. cit., p. 148.
  2. Report: ICAR (Nov. 1955-74), Soil Conservation Research Demonstration and Training Centre, Agra.

### EFFECTS OF SOIL EROSION

Soil erosion poses a serious threat to human prosperity. It creates two types of problem in general. First, with the expansion of ravine the agriculturable land reduces and on the other hand these deep ravine provide a good hide outs for the fugitives of law and dacoits etc. Mehrotra (1954:121) finds the intensity of soil erosion in these words:

The intensity of soil erosion (gully type) can best be judged the fact that in the Yamuna-Chambal basin the amount of the soil eroded is estimated to be equivalent to the removal of 12 cusecs or half ton of soil per second, day and night without stopping for the last thousand years.<sup>1</sup> He further adds, "In Etawah alone there are about 120000 acrese of ravine land and the wastage of soil has been estimated to be not less than 11 cubic feet of soil per second, equivalent to a steady outflow of earth in stream 13 feet wide and 2 feet deep, flowing at the rate of 3 miles per hour. On the whole, nearly 9 million acres of land in various parts of Uttar Pradesh is effected by this evil."<sup>2</sup>

Recent investigations have shown that in the bare fellow fields in the foot hills of northern India a single storm leads to the loss of soil at the rate of 14 tonnes per acres.<sup>2</sup>

1. Mehrotra, S.N., 1954: Hydrography and Irrigation in Uttar-Pradesh, Ph.D. Thesis, Agra University, Agra.

2. Ibid... p. 121.

Thus, we may guess the heavy loss of fertile land which has been swallowed by these ravines in these dacoits infested areas. Ravines advance at fast paces towards the human settlement. Every house and every lane in some villages of dacoits infested regions of Doab, and Bundelkhand, specially in the district of Agra, Etawah, Jalaun, Hamirpur and Banda are patrolled by the roaring ravines. These villages are very dull and dreary devoid of dynamic life. Soil erosion has also influenced the social attitude of the people. Continuous loss of agricultural land to ravines and usur land indicates the unbearable blow to the native population. The result is that the life of inhabitants in perilous and precarious. They do not find any way to eke out their livelihood except to become a dacoit or a foreman. Plundering of the prosperous becomes the motto of those who are compelled by economic hardships.<sup>1</sup>

Thus, ravines, on one hand germinate in the people of these areas the feeling of absconding after committing the crime, and on other hand these runious ravines provide them shelter from the clutches of law. It is a common saying that ravines and dacoits will go together. This proverb is still alive as before because there is no systematic efforts to check disastrous evil.

The question of land dispute and feuds is directly related with the land of the region because there is no source

1. Prasad, R., 1977: Ravine Settlement (Rural only) of the Lower Chambal, pp. 98-100, Ph.D.Thesis,Agra University, Agra.

of sustenance except cultivation. Agriculture dominates the rural area of these regions, as it provides employment to nearly 60.11 percent in form of cultivators, and 14.43 percent as agricultural labourers which combinedly constitute 74.54 percent of the total working population. With the growing population there is a high pressure on the land in the district of Doab especially were the density of population ~~as~~ very high. Per capita arable land is decreasing due to rapid increase in population as well as increasing ravine land. A study conducted by the B.R. School of sociology and Economics on land utilisation in the ravines before 1960 as Kapoor (1960:2) mentions, has also revealed that during the past 70 years cultivated area has been deduced from 52.8 to 36.7 percent while uncultivated land has increased from 47.2 to 63.3 percent resulting in a serious economic distress.<sup>1</sup>

On the other hand the cropping pattern is also influenced by soil erosion which is cumulatively reflected into the productivity of land. In ravine land rain water is not soaked into the soil and crops do not grow. For the productive layer of top is washed away with every heavy rain.

Thus, the process of soil erosion and ravine formation is not only concern of an individual but the entire society, of these area. Besides agriculture, another function agriculture labour also shares some significant in functional structure.

1. Kapoor, Bishan, 1960: op. cit., p. 2.

Prasad(1977 : 100), rightly observed the situation, "the reason for this dominance is that great number of able bodied persons of land owning castes in rural settlements of these dacoits infested districts are employed in military or police services, with the result that their agricultural activities are carried on by the agricultural labourer." So appalling is the land problem in these regions that, according to a popular saying, mentions Kapoor (1960:2), "If there are three brothers in a family, one will till the land another will join the army and the third will take arms and joins the dacoits."

The rural area of these regions as has already been pointed out, infested with dacoits. The deep and intricate ravines in which travel is arduous, provide them sufficient shelter and protection against law. It is these ravines from where they operate their decoity excursions and commit heinous crime on people. The situation in the area is one of tension, factional division fear, uncertainty and lack of stability. As a consequence, the inhabitants of the area have to live under constant terror. Safety of their life and property always remains at stake. The result is that prosperous person of these regions have started migrating to safer places, especially business communities are going to settle rapidly in the urban areas. Prasad (1977 : 203) finds,

"History as the proof that many towns once flourishing like Hatkant (in Agra) are to now totally deserted, because the people have left it on account of the problem of insecurity. Many old trade centres like Udi, Sahson (Etawah), Barai (Bhind),

Nandagam (Agra) etc. now present a depolite and deserted look. Being market of medieval period like Pinhat (Agra) and Ater (Bhind) are also nothing but pile of old ruins because all the prosperous people of these urban centres have fled from these regions."<sup>1</sup>

Thus, due to permanent hunting terror of dacoits, only those people representing the poor section of society reside in these areas who are neither industrious and nor have the capital to run the big enterprises. Prasad (1977 : 203) concludes the fact , "Most of them are living to sustenance level. Because of the insecurity, enterprising communities invested their capacity outside the region and did not develop economic and industrial activity in the region. For same reason outsiders also are not attracted towards the area. As a consequence, the region has become a economically backward."<sup>2</sup>

One prominent reason for ravine are remaining backward economically and socially is the very poor state of transport system. In adequacy of road net work has retarded the development of the area and as the same time it difficult to have effective police patrolling. The villages in this tract are mostly inaccessible that's why the police often fails to reach the law breaker. The position is particularly bad in the forest areas and the areas bordering Madhya Pradesh and

1. Prasad, R., 1977: op. cit., p. 203.

2. Ibid.

Rajasthan. It has been proved in a number of world bank studies that any road system in such areas which are under developed, justifies its worth by generating traffic and by its spin off effect on agriculture production. Nigam (1981-82 : 27) supports the fact. "There has been studies in Kenya and Nepal which show that rural roads ipso-facto act as catalysts for agriculture development."<sup>1</sup>

In order to secure the economic development of the region, the first prerequisite will be to ensure safety of life and property. The problem has assumed urgency because the ravines are a dynamic problem and on a conservative estimate take an annual toll of about 8000 hectare of valuable lands if nothing is done about this. On a conservative estimate the country is loosing a total output worth about 157 crores a year by failure to productive utilization of ravines.<sup>2</sup>

1. Nigam. V.G., Unpublished Report, Command Area Development, Chambal M.P. Project, p.27, Gwalior (M.P.).
2. Bali, J.S., 1972: Quoted from Report ICAR, (Nov. 1955-74), SCRDT Centre, Agra (U.P.).

CHAPTER I VI

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HISTORICAL BASE OF DACOITY

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## HISTORICAL BASE OF DACOITY

Dacoity, although, quite common yet is not unique to India alone. In one form or another it has existed in all parts of the world from Russia and Persia, Afghanistan and China to England, France, Italy and Mexico.<sup>1</sup> Thus, right from the time, the people organised themselves, we can trace the evidence of deviants, breaking the norms and acting against the spirit of social system.

The seeds of dacoity and glimpses of outlawry have been existed in every age in Indian context. The word 'Dasyu' was used in vedic age for those aborigines who had been defeated by Aryans. As crooke states, "It may have been a synonym for Dasyu, those of the black skin who represented the contrast between the aborigines and conquering Aryans."<sup>2</sup>

In Uttar vedic age, the varna system took its rigid form and the fourth category of the varna was reserved for Dashas and Dasyus. In 'Sutra and Dharmashastra' period which begins about 6 or 7 B.C., the persons who were liable for the theft, dacoity and for other criminal offences had to prove their innocence either by tradding the fife or by taking poison. The punishment for the cattle thieves was to sever the nose and the death sentence was awarded for stealing grains more than ten 'Gharahas' (pots) and for theft gold and silver. Dutt (1978:108) refers in Yajnawalkya Samhita,

1. Singh, R.G., 1980: op. cit., p. 36.

2. Crooke, Willium, 1974: op. cit., Vol.I, p. XXV.

"A person with whom stolen property is found, who has a special mark of a thief in him, who had been previously convicted of theft, and whose whereabouts are not known, may be arrested by thieves by officers who are empowered"<sup>1</sup>. If a person, who is arrested, on a suspicious charge of theft, can not establish his innocence, the king shall compel him to return the stolen articles and punish him like a thief.

The highest form of pecuniary punishment is (for the person), who knowingly gives food, residence, fire (for cooking etc.), water, advice, implement and expenses either to a thief or a murderer. A pilfer of clothes and a pickpocket should have their thumbs and forefingers cut off. If they commit the same offence, a second time, they should have a hand and a leg cut off.<sup>2</sup>

Dacoity, is as old as society itself in one form or another, its present form is the outgrowth of a long historical ups and downs of Indian society. Mahabharat, Ramayana and Jatak Kathayen present popular legends about the anti-social activities of these brigands. The 'Dasyu', as they then called, were not other than the ancient brand of present day dacoits and out-laws. In 'Drona Parva' and 'Shanti Parva' of Mahabharat the king was reported to have been advised to fight the growing menace of dacoity.<sup>3</sup> Although these Dasyu indulged in looting the property

1. Dutt, M.N., 1978: Dharma Shastra Hindu Religious code Vol.I., p. 109, Cosmo Publications, New Delhi.

2. Ibid. p. 110.

3. Margolkar, Vasant, 1974: Crime and Non Violence, p. 44,  
Sulabha Rashtriya Granthamala, Poona.

of others, they did not molest the women. They had their own moral code and self respect. The example of Valmiki, the great poet of Ramayana and notorious dacoit Angulimala are very popular even now.

Manu Samhita is regarded as next in sanctity to the Vedas, Manu the great Law giver, in his Smriti detailing the main aspects of 'Dharma' and imposing duty on the Kings to maintain the same in society, he insists the hard measures against heinous crimes, "For heinous crimes, Many advocates or prescribes harsher punishment, like death sentence or banishment and the confiscation of moveable or immovable property or both. Crime, such as dacoity theft, and robbery, were committed and in old literature the word 'Chrodhharanikas', which means one who chases away thieves, is mentioned.<sup>1</sup>

Patanjali, in his 'Yoga Sutra' speak of 'Sarva Bhom Vrata' and under the head 'Yama' mentions nonstealing as a virtue to be practised.<sup>2</sup> With the same spirit during the sixth century B.C. Lord Mahavira, the last prophet of Jainism, and Gautam Buddha, the founder of Buddhism have also emphasised on non-stealing (Asteya) in their teachings.

Kautilya, the chief councillor of Chandra Gupta (325B.C.)

1. Khan, S.A., 1983: Power, Police and Public, p. 3, Vishal Publications, Kurukshetra.

2. Chaturvedi, J.K., 1978: Workshop, Control and Eradication of Dacoity in an Organised Form, p13 ,Institute of Social Sciences, Agra University.

mentions in his 'Arth Shastra' some preventive measures of crime in 'Danda Neeti'. He described that persons used to be awarded by the king who disclosed matter of cattle theft. Persons used to inform the arrival of the gangs of dasyus and enemies by beating drums and making noise or by riding on fast horses to state guards.

Though the measures were taken in order to maintain law and order in the whole state yet the persons were feeling unsafe. When there was any possibility of invasion of gangs of robbers then the pet pigeons used to convey the message to the king. Even such descriptions are found that cattle-sheds were made to avoid cattle thefting.<sup>1</sup>

In the same way while talking about trade, he discussed again and again about the measures of security. It seems that the dasyus were the main impediments in the expansion of Indian trade at that time. The terror of robbers and dasyus was so much that Kautilya advised to foreign traders that they must had contact with security officer and foresters.<sup>2</sup>

Thus, if we throw light on the human history of about one thousand B.C., then we find that the right from the tribal wars upto the extent of ups and downs of empires, there were feeding and nourishing the basic instincts of robbery and ownership.

1. Acharya, Deepankar, 1968: Kautilya Kalin Bharat, p. 25,

Hindi Samiti Suchana Vabhag, Lucknow.

2. Ibid..... p. 26.

The tribal wars were fought in order to possess and enjoy the property, women and cattles of others. As much as we grew more civilised and institutionalised in the spontaneous flow of culture, our basic instincts from generation to generation were socialised. The development of systematic community life commence from Agricultural era since then upto the present time society confined itself upto tribal level on some extent and man continued to lead their lives as robbers but they were not condemned because they confined their behaviour with the prevailing norms of their community.

Every social institution has its historical origin. similarly the nature of dacoity can not be analysed in the right perspective until we give the historical basis of the problem. From time to time the social structure of Indian society had to face blows by political instability created such anomique conditions which established the different pattern of deviation. Thus, the deformity in society is the root cause for producing thugs, pindaries, outlaws and absconders etc.

During the Gupta period and around the seventh century punishments were harsher and yet the situation in regards to law and order was not very satisfactory. There prevailed a sense of insecurity of life and property. Huen-Tsang, who visited India during the seventh century and had the misfortune of being robbed more than once, gives details of robberies and murders and of the looting of trading caravans. The duties of policeman as watchman, keeping track of bandits and manning the secret service wing, are also mentioned indirectly. Though he

mentions that, the crime was rampant and gangs of robbers or thugs were reported to exist.<sup>1</sup> It shows that disturbed conditions then existed not only in Chambal or Bundelkhand, but the whole northern India. The history of central India is the history of devastation, the whole region of Doab and Chambal had been marked by political instability and tribal or clan violence since the decay of Harshavardhan. Crooke (1974: 113) points out the rising of prominent Rajputs families. "It was on the death Harshavardhan, who reigned from 607 to 650 A.D. that most of the Rajput families would seem to have risen to power. Tomars of Delhi, Chandelas of Khajuraho as well as Kachhwahas of Narwar and Gwalior, all begin their genealogies from that time."<sup>2</sup>

The recorded history of organised banditry, however, begins with the Muhammadan rule in India. Actually before muslim rule in the country, discrete cases of decoity may be found frequently, but as an institution it established in this era due to many justifiable causes.

Early in the 12th century A.D. clanish war broke out over Delhi. Rajputs like Anangpal, a Tomar king of Delhi were expelled by Prithviraj Chouhan. These expelled Rajputs spread over the whole of Doab and Chambal basin.<sup>3</sup> The Tomars made ceaseless efforts to reoccupy Delhi but they were thwarted both by Prithivi Raj and the later Sultans. In course of time, they established their small dynasties in Dholpur, Etawah, Gwalior.

1. Khan, S.A., 1983: op. cit., p. 3.

2. Crooke, Willium, 1974: op. cit., p. 113.

3. See also, The Early Settlers of the Region, Ch. II.

Social and Political disorder created by the attacks of foreigners and inter-clan wars resulted that the Bhadaurias, Meos, Tomars, Chauhans and Sikarwars spread over the Chambal and Doab regions. There was marked concentration of clan groupings in some specific areas-Bhadauria in Bhadawar i.e. Bah, Mahyaon and Bhind; Sikarwar in Sikarwari, Sabalgarn and Johra; Tomars in Towargarh i.e. Ambah and Morena, Chuhans in Mainpuri etc. for their safety they maintained their Guerrilla warfare.

Begining with the Muslim rule, their was mass conversion of Hindus to Islam by force. To protest against this conversion Rajputs became very aggressive. They resisted the muslims and their rule till they were not rooted out from western India and Delhi. In begining no one accepted Islam. Warrior castes played a stirring role as raiders on the city of Agra and Delhi in this connection.

Sharma (1982: 94) reveals a noteworthy fact about Meo community, which was Hindu once, the plundering role in history. "They played a stirring role as raiders on the city of Delhi specially after the advent of Muslim rule in India. One first hears of the Meos when, at the instigation of Prithivi Raj of Delhi they were expelled from upper Doab by some Rajputs (Crooke: 1896: 492). They again raised their heads in the early Muhammadan era and continued to create trouble for muslim rule. Until Ghy-as-ud-din Balban after his accession in 1265 A.D., took in hand their repression with the result that, the Meos expirated by a terrible punishment a long series of crime."<sup>1</sup>

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1. Sharma, S.L., 1982: op. cit., p. 94.

In fact, from time of Mahmood's death (1030 A.D.) until the appearance of Kutub-ud-din (1193 A.D.), according to the Imperial Gazetteer of central India (1908), "The history of central India is that of the incessant petty wars, which went on between the various Hindu clans."<sup>1</sup>

In 1196 A.D. Kutub-ud-din took Gwalior. But after his death, the Rajputs regained their lost territories through their guerrilla warfare tactics. The imperial Gazetteer of central India (1908 : 20) mentions, "A period of confusion followed his death (1210 A.D.), during which Rajputs of central India regained the greater parts of their possession."<sup>2</sup> The law and order was more than once so worse in the reign of Balban that he was compelled to march in person to the neighbourhood of Kampil and Patiali in Doab region and there he remained for five or six months, putting the rebels to the sword.<sup>3</sup> He himself made frequent journeys through the Doab to see that his orders were carried out and, "the den of robbers was thus converted into a guard house, and Musalmans and guardians of the way took the place of highway robbers."<sup>4</sup>

So disturbed and critical was the condition of Doab at this period that Sultan Mahmood Shah in 1389 A.D. found it expe-

1. Katre, S.S., 1972: The Pattern of Dacoity in India, p. 24.  
S. Chand & Co. (Pvt) Ltd. New Delhi.

2. Ibid.... p. 25.  
Neave, E.R., 1914; Etah: A Gazetteer, vol. XII, vol. XII.  
3. District Gazetteer of the United Province of Agra & Oudh,  
Suppl. Notes, p. 128, Allahabad.

4. Ibid .... p. 129.

dient to make Jalesar his headquarters during his war with rival Sultan Abu Bakar, and after crushing a serious rising of the Doab Rajputs. The accession of Mahmud Shah in 1394 A.D. was followed by a period of anarchy and civil war, 'The moment was an opportune one for the rebellious Rajputs of Doab and they did not fail to take advantage of it.'<sup>1</sup> In 1400 A.D. Ikabai Khan, the general of Mahmud Shah attacked at Patiali but was driven with heavy loss to the Etawah Border. In 1414, 1416 and 1418 A.D. repeated punitive expeditions were made by Taj-ul-Mulk in these districts but the punishment they had received was not sufficient to subdue the refractory Rajputs. Sikandar Lodhi, the successor of Bahadur Lodhi marched against the Hindu confederacy and fought near Atrauli. Sikandar's son, Ibrahim also visited the district Etah and fought with Chauhans at Sakit, driving many of them to take refuge in Bhadawar.

Sher Shah had become the greatest power in northern India, still he never succeeded in subduing Rajputana, Malwa and Bundelkhand. When Sher Shah, thus, found the rebellions and disobedience of the Zamindars who lived in this part, he brought 12000 horsemen, and repressed the Zamindars and cultivators of this part. "This repression and its like created reaction and counter reaction helping only to steel the determination of the so called outlaws to carry on their trade."<sup>2</sup>

The Mughal emperors did try to secure law and order in their times. Some of them succeeded also. But the account

1. Neave, E.R., 1934: op. cit. p. 129.

2. Kapoor, Bishan, 1960: op. cit.. p. 3.

of contemporary travellers and visitors show that the success was partial and restricted to certain regions only. Actually, since the death of Babar in 1530 A.D., anarchy prevailed, throughout the Doab region interrupted only a few years during the iron rule of Sher Shah till the accession of Akbar in 1556 A.D. For the same purpose Akbar had to keep a big garrison in the historic fort of Hatkant. In 1559 A.D., he has to send one of his trusted army generals to Hatkant in Bah of Agra region. As it is mentioned that the Raja of the Bhadaurias was ordered to be crushed under the feet of an elephant after his defeat. A remarkable description of the rebellious attitude of the people of Sakit (Etah) is given in an account of the conditions of the people which befal Akbar when he was hunting in that neighbourhood in 1562 A.D.

"The people of inhabiting the villages round Sakit stood unrivalled for their rebellious spirit and ungratefulness; the eyes of the age never saw rebels, thieves and marauders like them; they are not only disorderly themselves, but keep the villages and their inhabitants in state of disorder, and they live a bold short of life which only fools call bravery. The office of the district had frequently complained of the inhabitants".

For the same purpose Akbar's most trusted comrade and court historian, Abul Fazal, was murdered in the ravines of Antri in Datia District. It is also true that Fatehpur Sikri, the capital built by Akbar some 25 miles from Agra, had to be abandoned ultimately because of the rebelmenace from the Chambal ravines.

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1. Neave, E.R., 1911: Etah: A Gazetteer, vol. XII, p. 131.

His successors, too left Agra because it was consistently raided by bandits from the Chambal countryside and nearby regions.<sup>1</sup>

Traveling was unsafe and the roads infested with highway men-robbers. During the Mughal period in 1583-91 A.D. Ralph Fitch who visited India who recorded that there were many thieves at that time. While on his way to Akbar's court, the Portuguese priest, Father Monserrate came across a large number of thieves from Surat to Agra. William Hawkins who remained in India during 1608 to 1613 A.D. observed that the large number of outlaws and thieves made travelling impossible unless a large force accompanied those who moved about.<sup>2</sup> William Finch who came to Bhadrawara in January 1610 A.D. found the town filthy and full of thieves. The road from Gwalior to Ahmedabad, he says was all a sandywood country and full of thievish beastly men. From Ahmedabad, Cambay he found the way-sandywood and thievish. The way of Cambay was difficult to cross because of very dangerous thieves who looted the people and throw them into the sea.<sup>3</sup>

The same condition was observed by Thicholas Within-gton who went to Cambay in 1613. He says, "One may go as soon as from Agra to Singh as Surat; but there is more thieving outlaws on the highways and on the river murdering as they rob."  
Sir Robert Shirley found the way from Thattah to Agra much infested with thieves.<sup>4</sup> The country is now so full of thieves and

1. Bahadur, K.P., 1980: A History of Indian Civilisation, vol. II,  
Part II., p. 38, Eas Eas Publications, Delhi.

2. Ibid..... p. 38.

3. Ibid..... p. 38.

4. Ibid..... p. 39.

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1. Bahadur, K.P., 1980: A History of Indian Civilisation, vol.II, Part II., p. 38, Eas Eas Publications, Delhi.

2. Ibid..... p. 38.

3. Ibid..... p. 38.

4. Ibid..... p. 39.

outlaws he says, "that one can hardly stir out of doors in any part of his dominions without a guard, as almost the whole people are in rebellion. He records that he was plundered on the way of my clothes and every thing else, about me."<sup>1</sup>

John Willoughby at Agra wrote to Surat factory in April 1823 that the roads were full of dangerous dacoits, "for here is nothing but killing in every one of these parts." Another letter from Ahamadabad to Surat says, "The roads are so full of robbers that no one can pass. In the wars of succession that occurred after Shahjahan, conditions become worse. Manucci says of these times, "The villagers and thieves were plundering on high ways and created a good deal of tribulation to travellers, robbing and slaying them."<sup>2</sup>

Next, Meos made history for themselves by looting the revenue of Jahangir at Koshi between Agra and Delhi when it was being taken to the capital under the protection of imperial guard. The reign of Aurangzeb (1658-1707 A.D.) witnessed the high water mark of the muslim power in India and yet it was in this reign that its decline had begun. His reign was marked by Marathas uprisings, the appearance of Bundelas, the rise of Jats, the expansion of the European trading companies into the interior of the country. All these forces were breaking the backbone of Mughal Empire and were hasten the process of its disintegration. Bernier, was in India from 1656 to 1668 A.D.

1. Bahadur, K.P., 1980: op. cit., p. 39.

2. Ibid.

says, there were frequent cases of robbery in country. Dr. John Francies Careri the Italian traveller who visited India in 1695 A.D. also expresses the same views, "there was no safety thieves, nor were there caravanserais for travellers."<sup>1</sup>

During the reign of Aurangzeb the law and order situations was so bad that the Emperor himself complained about it to the Prince A'zam, "I have come to know that royal road between Bahadurpur and Khujas Tehbuniad (Aurangabad) is not free from danger. Highway men rob the merchants and travellers of their goods, why farers can not travel in security. When such robbery takes place near the quarters of yours and mine armies, woe to conditions of distant roads. Writing again to A'zam, Aurangzeb laments about the lack of law and order, "Every day in the district of Hazipur, Miyanpur and other police stations, strife and quarrel, oppression and tyranny, take place. The Kolis plunder Nairganj situated close to the army. They bind the inhabitants of the town and carry them away. He also finds the presence of robbers and outlaws in the remotest southnear Ahmadnagar as he has written to A'zam, "very few travellers traverse the road in safety."<sup>2</sup> In fact robbers and outlaws were practising their profession all over the country.

Aurangzeb's death brought the process of disintegration to the point of no return. In Deccan he created such conditions

1. India Travels of Careri, p. 216, quoted, Bahadur, K.P.1980:39.

2. Letter of Aurangzeb, Trans. J.H. Bilmouria, 1908,p.26-40.

quoted by Bahadur, K.P.,1980:39.

that Pindari could flourish by destroying Muslim Kingdoms. The nobility in the days of later Mughals was ridden with nepotism and corruption. Mirza, (1970) observed "after Ahmad Shah accession, in course of time matters came to such a pass that a descriptive list of all articles in the imperial stores, the arms the carpets, cooking utensiles and dinnerplates, books and hand instruments and of every other Karkhanas, was prepared, and these articles were sold to the shopkeepers and pedlars, and most of the money thus realised was spent in paying the troops":<sup>1</sup>

He further adds, "The result was what no regular army was maintained. Those who were in service could not get their salaries regularly. Downtrodden and frustration they took recourse to selling of their armaments. How could be an army be maintained when the horses in the stable were dieing for want of grass and forage? Under the circumstances the profession of arms no longer remained a source of attraction to the people. Small wonder, the soldiery whose morale had already deteriorated, became restive and restored to breaking in mutiny and plundering villages and towns, for their salaries were not regularly paid."<sup>2</sup>

It would take many pates to tell about anarchy prevailed during pre British rule. As we have discuss previously that the condition of unemployment and difficulties in various professions of subsistence such as soldiery, agriculture, trade and

1. Mirza, K.M., 1970: op. cit., p. 21.

2. Ibid.. p. 23.

as the condition of other profession was no better. There was confusion and disorder all round the country owing to misgovern-  
ment. Previously, Nobles and Jagirdars used to employ soldiers but now with the end of Jagirs the source of employment were tightened. Before the rule of British in these regions Marathas began to quarrel among themselves. The young Peshwa committed suicide, immediately a war of succession ensued and peace was not restored in Doab and Bundelkhand for many years. There was great discontent among the rulers of small principalities as well as states. After the treaty of Basien and later on the siege of Delhi, Bharatpur and Bundelkhand, Marathas had suffered so severely in the last war that they had to lost the region of Doab.

During the time of British period, the home authori-  
ties turned his attention to the anarchy prevailed in central India. There, the Marathas, Pathans, Pindaries, Thuges and many others were making hell on the earth. The Maratha chiefs- Sindhia, Holkar and Bhonsla had territories of their own which they used as bases for plundering expeditions into the surround-  
ing regions. The Pathan worked together in gangs. They had no settled homes of their own. They plundered and fought for anybody who would pay them well enough the looted property.

In fact, the Pindaries were originally hangers-on of the Marathas armies. They had received no pay. They lived entirely on loot. Desperate brokenmen joined them. They

plundered, tortured and destroyed the property, no one in central India was safe from them. With regards to the responsibilities of Marathas for creating conditions which made the rise of pindaries possible in central India and which perpetuated the same conditions in Bundelkhand also we may cite the argument of Barlow, "Central India was Maratha's territory with which the company had nothing to do. In Bundelkhand the Financial condition determined his limits."<sup>1</sup>

Sir George Barlow (1805 A.D.) has also been criticised for not taking care that anarchy did not spread in the territory of Rajputana state. In fact, the anarchy prevailed in the areas dominated by Marathas has been attributed to his policy. According to Willson, (Sindhias), "feeble mind and ungenerous policy allowed the whole of Hindustan beyond its (company's) boundaries, to become the seen of fearful plunder and frightful desolation, for many succeeding years."<sup>2</sup>

Following the peace with Sindhia and Holkar, the two chief had a completely free hand in Rajputana, the East India Company having bound itself not to enter into any relations with the prince who had been feudatories to the Maratha's. The result was a general anarchu, in which Sindhia, Holkar and the Pindari like Amirkhan and the various other Rajput States involved in interminable feuds. The same conditions was in Bundelkhand where the petty Bundelas were creating troubles.

1. Mehta, B.N., 1949: Sir George Barlow in India, Doctorate Thesis, p. 232, Agra University, Agra.

2. Ibid. p. 233.

### PINDARI

In History, the word 'Pindari' was used in 1689 A.D. when the rebellious Zamindars of Dacca assassinated thousands of hot blood Ruhellas against the Mughal empire and dugout the whole Bijapur District. Later on these plunderers encountered with Zulphikar Khan, the 'Sipahsalar' of Aurangzeb who had come to suppress these rebellions. Though he went back to Delhi yet the valley of Kaveri was made the battlefield for pindaries from where they continued their plunder till 1817 A.D. to the remote country and Indo-gangetic plain.<sup>1</sup>

sir John Malcalm finds that Pindaries were known to have flourished as early as 1669 A.D. As regards the etymology of the term 'Pindari', the popular belief is that Pindaries derived their name from their addiction called 'Pinda'. Another explanation about Pindari is that it is a corrupt word of plunder. Sharma, (1962) puts another explanation about the origion of the word (Pindari), "Pinda is an offering made to the dead and who thrives on it is called Pindari. And the class of people who made these things daily diet came to be called Pindari. This item of food, which is prepared in open and baked on fire after boiling of rice, was amply suited to the way of life of the vagabond Pindaries."<sup>2</sup>

In fact, from the very begining, Pindari formed auxiliaries of the Maratha's armies and they adopted the method of

1. Narad, K.: Dharmayug, 30th January, 1983,pp. 28-29, New Delhi.

2. Sharma, B.G., 1962: Sir, John Malcolm in Madhya Bharat, ph.D.

Thesis, p. 153, Agra University, Agra.

guerrilla warfare, so characteristic of Maratha armies, was ideally suited to the predatory activities of these marauders. With the growing Maratha power in central India, they also appeared to constitute a formidable menace. Their predatory incursions made life and property insecure and even peaceful folks also often compelled to take a life of violence as there was no other means to cope with mounting danger. Thus violence begot violence and people reduced their own losses by the plunder of others.<sup>1</sup>

In course of the time they acquired military status under Bajirao Peshwa I. Malhar rao Holkar presented their chief with a golden flag. Lt. Valentine wrote that there was no identification of these plunderers except loot and murder. Actually, the outgrowth of Pindaries was related to the political disturbances and disorder of Peshwa regime. Jenkins, the British Agent at Brar (1812 A.D.) compared them with Russian Kajjaks and called them uncontrolled and violent outlaws who used to accompany the Marathas.<sup>2</sup> Sir John Malcalm states that Pindari has arisen like masses of putrefaction in animal matter, out of corruption of weak and expiring states.<sup>3</sup>

At the juncture of eighteenth and nineteenth century the sociopolitical conditions were also liable under which a man

1. Narad, K.: Dharmayug, p. 29, 30th January, 1983, New Delhi.

2. Desai, G.S., 1948: New History of Marathas, p.477, Bombay.  
Quoted from Dharmayug, p. 30, 6 Feb.1983.

3. Ibid.

could become only Pindari. After the downfall of Mughal Empire, the Peshwa Regime extended from south to north and the sametime his generals became rivals for capturing of power. Though on 16th October, 1788 A.D. the flag of Mahadji Sindhia was hoisted at Delhi, yet in 1793 due to lack of central authority anarchy and lawlessness prevailed. Not only Sindhia but Holkar of Indore, Hinnat Bahadur Gosain of Mathura, Alibahadur of Bundelkhand, Rewari's Ismail Baig and many others were also ambitious of holding power over Delhi. At the end of Eighteenth century India had become powerless. Pathans, Jats, Ruhellas, Bahariyas, Gurande and Gosain had stood for plundering. Under these circumstances the booty looted by Pindaries was shared to petty Jagirdars and markets were also adorned for sale of such plundered materials and goods. All this was not accidental but due to the appointment of auxiliary armies of British the soldiers of small states had to dismiss their forces. Besides the bad characters, these scldiers also joined the Company of Pindari.

Protection of Pindari Bands:- Mutual raviaries of Indian states provided an eternal source of employment to these ruffians. Their enormous were easily available to any prince who sought to defeat an enemy without any excessive drain upon his own exchequer. In the time of Bajirao I, they were attached to the Maratha's army as irregular horsemen. After the third battle of Panipat in 1761 A.D., the Pindaries settled themselves in Malwa and they attached themselves to Sindhia and Holkar. As the power of Marathas declined, the Pindaries began to plunder independently.

Wherever they went, they carried fire and sword with them.

This led to lawlessness in these regions also.

Pindari bands usually serving particular prince owed his names. After the death of Yaswant Rao Holkar, the Holkar Shahi Pindaries came into prominence. Though they pretended to acknowledge Sindhia and Holkar as their masters, they never had any sense of loyalty. Whenever it suited their self interest, they did not hesitate to act treacherously. At times, they also profited from the weakness, rivalry and cupidity of those employed against them.<sup>1</sup>

Organisation:- It was not merely a question of lawless group of people but of an organised system which was the product of the then socio-historical conditions of the country. Besides, the mountains, ravines, stronghold, forests and open or secret support of the people, either willing or out of fear, all conspired to sustain the Pindaries for a long period in central India.

Obviously, encouraged by such recognition, the Pindaries showed greater zest in their ravages, as besides apportioning a good deal of the booty to themselves, they had also to offer their employer his due share. Thus, they claimed a legal sanction for their depredations.

The Pindaries did not form a regular army. The only link between the Pindari's chief and his followers was the prospect of plunder. The ranks of the Pindaries were joined by

1. Sharma, B.G., 1962: op. cit., p. 156.

all kinds of elements. There was no difference between the Muslim or a Hindu. In most cases, Pindari came from the ranks of the disbanded leaders and fugitives from justice, idlers, and unscrupulous persons from every caste and creed were welcomed.<sup>1</sup>

Operation of Pindari Bands:- Pindaries used to come in the form of locusts, riding on the best horses. They looted and prosecuted to the people and burnt to ashes the grain storages. They had their special technique of plundering. Pindaries attacked their target with the speed of lightening and managed to fly away with all their booty. The Pindaries have been compared to the swarms of locusts. As the Pindaries followed the Maratha armies, they have been called the scavengers of Marathas.<sup>2</sup>

Their field of action was for sometime confined to the territories of the Nizam Raja of Barar, and the Peshwa. Gradually, however, they grew bold and crossed the British Frontiers destroying the area with slaughter, flames and pilage.<sup>3</sup> There was not a single village, town or city in the valley of Narmada where Pindaries did not reach twice a year. In 1805 A.D. they even snatched the belt with costly stones of William Martindale, the British Agent at Baroda Darbar. In 1807 in Ghasipur area, some sixty persons were burnt alive in a straw pile.<sup>4</sup>

1. Mahajan, V.D. British Rule in India and After, p. 97.

2. Horace, St.J., 1852: History of The British Conquest vol.2, pp. 63-64, Colburn & Co. Publishers, London.

3. Narad, K.: Dharmayug, 6th February, 1983, p. 31, New Delhi.

4. Ibid.

Their incursions were carried on upon the plan of regular campaigns, except that no rule of civilized warfare was allowed to check their ferocity. Horace, (1852: 64) states "Whenever they appeared the most inhuman cruelties were perpetrated. Men were burnt with sealing oil, suffocated with dust, or played by application of fire. Children were drowned in wells brained against the earth or torn from their mother's breast and sabred.<sup>1</sup> Women, if not made to suffer the violence from which their modesty recoiled, were driven to commit suicide through fear of it; and villages and towns, after being depopulated, were given to flames and plunder."<sup>2</sup>

Pindari invasion was a crusade against life, peace and property, besides the kidnapping of wealthy persons they used to spring the children with the air. They released the kidnapped person after gaining the amount of ransom otherwise they killed them mercilessly. In the word of Hastings, "The horrors perpetrated by these demons at other places made the poor villages, totally unarmed and incapable of resistance, fly to the disprate resolution of burning themselves with their wives and children. All the young girls are carried off by the Pindaries, tied three or four like calves on a horse, to be sold."<sup>3</sup> By the end of 18th century chaotic conditions had reached a climax that the country was distinguished by the title of the "Country of Robbers".

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1. Sydenham, "Papers on Pindari War", p. 24, quoted by Horace,  
St. J., 1852, p. 64.

2. Horace, St.J., 1852: op.cit. p. 65.

3. Ibid.

Code of Conduct:- There was no code of conduct of them except to loot and pilage and to feed away. They were totally barbourous and savage. All the evils of that age were in their character. They were neither brave nor nationalistic. Their sole aim to loot, desertion and murder. In the situation of encounter they had run away. If loot was their religion then to fly away was their pleasure. In 1809 A.D. a report presented to East India Company, Sidnehome wrote that Pindaries were the outlaws of lowest category who were not born to face the forces but to fly away after loot and murder.<sup>1</sup>

Religious Faith of Pindaries:- Pindaries were religious cowar-dice murderer. They often used to offer Gold, Silver and cash to the gods and goddess. Their deity was the 'Kamakha Devi of Kamaroopa'. They also worshiped so many 'peers'. At Vijayadasnmi all the Pindaries assembled in a ground and offer prayers to Kamaknya Devi, Randeva Peer, Jana Peer and Gogapeer, and they launched their incursion at the same evening. Thus, living the whole year, a normal civil life, after celebrating Vijayadashmi theyr started their campagn of loot and murder.

These marauders ruined the temple of Kankan, Girnar and Rantek. But there was not a single instance destroying a mosque. There might be two reasons for not to destroying any mosque. First, there was nothing to loot and secondly, most of the prominant Pindari chiefs were muslim by faith. Once a Pindari chief named Khudabaques was interviewed, he told that the God had made us for murdering on the earth.

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1. Narad, K., Dharmayug, p. 20, 20th February, 1983, New Delhi.

### ECONOMIC MARDSHIPS AND OUTLAWRY

The regions of Doab and Bundelkhand were not only ravished by invaders, Pindaries, Thugs and various outlaws, but here also nature did not lag behind from playing her terrible roles from time to time. These areas have been always subjected the frequent natural calamities like famines, floods, and above all the erosion of soil and ravines.

Upper province witnessed the famine of 1803-4, A.D. on account of failure of rain. Famine visited again to the province in 1812-13. This time only a part of Yamuna Doab was effected.<sup>1</sup> The great famines that visited a north west province and Bundelkhand were the 1833-34 and 1837-38 A.D. after the great Chalisa in 1783.<sup>2</sup> These enveloped a vast area of the land and prevailed in a severe form almost through out the south-western parts of the province.

During these years not only did the crop failed entirely but the grass and fodder was also lost. Horroring scenes of poverty, scarcity and death were witnessed all round the area. The calamity was so enormous that cultivators of these areas were not ready to enter into engagement with the Government for tilling lands at high assessment made by Timins.<sup>3</sup>

1. Report of Indian Famine Commission, 1880, Quoted From Bhanu,

D.,(1954:258) op. cit..

2. Drake, Brockman, D.L., 1909: Banda A Gazetteer, p. 33,op.cit.

3. Bhanu, D., 1954: op. cit., p. 267.

During these famine society was disorganized and horrors of every kind pervaded the land. Bands of plunderers were formed by these disparate people, and they began to loot the loads of grains. The Government authorized the police to punish the plunderers and maintained public peace. The result was that Jails were filled with such criminals. For instance, Rohilkhand Jails became full of convicts. Aliganj and Farrukhabad districts also suffered from outburst of starving people who took to plunder and dacoity.<sup>1</sup>

The famine of 1933-34 is known to have severe on in western Bundelkhand also. According to an estimate of Col. Biard Smith, 8000 souls were reported dead in Deob area. Crooke, however felt these figures to be much below<sup>2</sup> while Mr. Muir, writing in 1842, says that out of about 75000 homes in that portion of district (Jalaun) some 38000 were abandoned, during the famine of 1837-38.<sup>3</sup> Dacoity out-breaks especially in the time of famine or as the after math of political unrest. Katare observes,

"The condition of the Rajputs chiefs, Jamindars and feudal lords became deplorable in these famine years. This compelled to them to loot rather than to steal because stealing was against the prestige of Thakurs, and they started to extort money by the use of force, and thus maintained the spirit of Beghi."<sup>4</sup>

Thus repeated seasons of famine increased serious crimes such as murder, dacoity and robbery etc.

1. Ibid. p. 265.

2. Ibid. p. 261.

3. Brockman-Brake, D.L., 1909: op. cit., p. 33.

4. Katare, S.S., 1972: op. cit., p. 30.

### THUGGEE

There was, however, another menace, namely Thuggee. This institution was much older than the pindari. There was Thuggee in the reign of Ferozshah Tuglak (1351-88 A.D.). His office had once arrested not less than one thousand highway robbers who were released after a stern punishment. Again we find a mention during the reign of Akbar (1556-1605) as many as 500 thugs were arrested and executed in a single district of Etawah.<sup>1</sup>

In 1666 A.D. the French traveller, thevernot mentions about these outlaws, "Though the roads I have been speaking of from Delhi to Agra, be tolerable, yet hath it many inconveniences. One may meet with tigers, panthers and lions upon it, and one had best, also have a care of robbers and above all things not to suffer any body to come near one upon the road. The cannibals robbers in the world are in that country."<sup>2</sup>

Actually as regards the thugs, they were bands of hereditary robbers and murderers who carried out their crimes in an unfair manner. They spent most of their time in a respectable occupation and practised thuggee occasionally. It was difficult to suspect such persons. They bore necklace and showed themselves as merchants. They robbed the rich as well as poor and were ready to commit murder for a few rupees.

1. Nargolkar, V., 1974: op. cit., p.

2. Sheller, J.T. and Macmillon, M., 1956: European Travellers in India, p.45, Sushil Gupta (India) Ltd. Calcutta-12.

The thugs first came to the notice of British after the capture of Srinagpattan in 1799 A.D. They particularly flourished in Mysore territory. Later on it was seen that they operated in many parts of India.<sup>1</sup> It was early 1810 A.D. that General St. Lager, a discription of murderers dominated thugs who infested the district of Doab and otherparts of Upper province, cautioned his soldiers against them. The Government took of these bad characters at that time. The result was disastrous for the peace and administration of not only these areas but of the whole of north western provinces and central India. Thus, gang robberies and thuggee became widespread all over the country. At last William Sleeman had to institute a new department for the suppression of thuggee in 1828 A.D. under the supervision of Col. Sleeman.

Gang Organisation of Thugs- The gangs of Thugs often contained as many as from ten to fifteen to scores of men.<sup>2</sup> Inside each band of thug there were regular ranks and gradation. A thug with a great reputation as a strangler become Jamadar and he was given a special share of plunder. An out standing member of profession become subedar. They all, however, dirived their origin, by descent or initiation from the member of the old gangs. The thug of northern India who from time to time emigrated in to the south India and they confined their trade almost exclusively to their own families, and to the sons of murdered parents adopted and brought up among them.

1. Mahajan. V.D., British Rule in India and After, p. 136.

2. Sleeman, W.H., 1840: Report; On the Depredation Committed by

The Thug Gangs, p.8, Huttmann, Bengal Mily,  
Orphen Press, Calcutta.

There are some temporary thug gangs also which attached with big permanent gangs. They contended themselves with occasionally joining the large jangs as they passed through Rajputana, Gujrat, Khandesh, Malwa Delhi and Bundelkhand territory or depreding independently in small parties upon the roads that passed through their own country.<sup>1</sup>

The older gangs emigrated from one province to another province as stated by Sleeman, (1840: XIII) the older gangs from Doab, Gwalior and Bundelkhand States who have emigrated to Rajputana. It should be remarked that the gangs of thugs who resided into the kingdom of oude, unlike those who resided in other parts, generally confined their depredations to that country and their expeditions were, in consequences, generally less extensives and more frequent.<sup>2</sup>

Protection of Thugs:- Thugs enjoyed the protection of the chiefs, Zamindars and officials. They paid a lot of money as tributes to their harbourers in the form of 'Nazaraana'. They always after their journey were obliged to give the Zamindars of their village some present. All thugs propitiated their Zamindar. In the words of Col. Sleeman (1940) "We find it extremely difficult to obtain from him any of those influential characters who could recreate their gangs in part of India if left un molested for a few season."<sup>3</sup> He further adds, "The greater part of those

1. Sleemann, W.H., 1840: op. cit., p. XIX.

2. Ibid. p. 10.

3. Ibid. p. 8.

who have eluded our pursuit have found an asylum in the service of native chiefs and become members of their civil and military establishment and returned to their old trade as soon as they find our pursuit relaxed. Some thugs has their contact with police and Chaukidars.<sup>1</sup>

The old gang members gave shelter and food for new gangs on an expedition. Their expeditions were generally short and the parties, small as they were, often repeatedly reorganised in course of one season.

Mode of Operation:- The modus operandi of the thugs in their trade was that usually they went about as merchants with ostensible good demeanour and used to trap the innocents. When thugs started their expedition they proceeded in search of travellars who were stranger to them. During their expedition the number of gang might be 10 - 15 to 250 as stated by Sleeman. "During the year of 1826-27 A.D. in Doab, Gwalior and Bundelkhand there were many gangs of thugs who operated these areas. Feringea with gang of 13 thugs, Chotee Brannan with gangs of 25 thugs and Gurgadeen, Makun had 260 thugs in their gangs of their expidation."<sup>2</sup>

First of all, they confined their attention to the travellars while travelling along, they halt with them during the night and tried to win the full confidence of the victim. The value of victims burthens was immediately discovered by

1. Sleeman, W.H., 1840: op. cit. p. 7.

2. Ibid. p. 136.

these keen eyed sportsman. Then leaders and stoutest and fleetest followers were immediately selected for the pursuit. Some times they followed the victim unpercieveed for the several miles, till they had been them passed through the village road or they took them on to a place Chosen a distance of 2 - 3 miles, in jungle or lone place where they suddenly closed in upon them and put them all to death before they could prepare for resistance. After murdering they covered the dead body with stones in the bed of water course.

Sometimes they strangled the victim generally near drynullah, or at water course in the morning as they crossed and burried the bodies and flew away. They adopted so many tactice to compell the victim according their planning. They persuaded their victim to accompany them to the river bath and while preparing his abulations he fell an easy prey to them. Sometimes they endeavoured to pursue them to sit down or rest etc. at the place where they found convenient to strangle them.<sup>1</sup> Even they offered sheet upon their ponies to travellers, the traveller did not know who are they, then he was murdered.

In course of an expedition the thug gangs generally halted at the groves of mangoes tries near villages. On an expedition the strip of cloth (Gamachha) and pick axes with which the grave of victim was dug out, they used.<sup>2</sup> They suddenly threw

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1. Sleeman, W.H., 1840: op. cit., p. 25.

2. Dodwell, H.H., 1932: The Cambridge History of India, vol.VI, pp.33-34, University Press, Cambridge.

a rope of Cloth (noose) round the neck of the subject and then drew very tight by two thugs who held it pressing the head of the victim forward, a third behing the victim seized him the lags and he was, thus thrown the ground. There was little opportunity of resistance by the victim. The same description of customary method of strangling was given by a French Travellor, M.Dc. Thevernot.

They never committed robberies without murdering the victim. They committed crimes always out of their own native area. They sometimes took with them some of their children (boy under teenage), less to attract notice and suspicion. They had bullocks or tattoo (Ponies) to carry the plundered properties. Thus, they frequently assumed the character of marchants.

Seeing that victim had become suspicious they cautioned the party in their secret language. On risk or danger they dispersed and rejoined the main body at the place appointed already. Sometimes they sent back some of their party to see whether the bodies might be discovered or they found that they had been dug up by jackalls or that a concourse of people had collected round them.<sup>1</sup> On taken up by police, they told so plausible stories and showed themselves very respectable that officers generally decieved and released them.<sup>2</sup>

Division of Share:- Looted or captured things or money was devided among the member of the gang. First of all some portions

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1. Sleeman, W.H., 1840: op. cit., p. 60.

2. Ibid. p. 72.

were set aside for local polygars whose protections and help were considered important. Besides it, some portion was set apart for the performance of religious ceremony. After that two shares were given to the actual murderer and a share each was given to ordinary member of the gang. The leader was given a special share of the plunder. Thus, he who strangled and he who inveigled always got greater share.

Beliefs of Thugs:- The thugs had great faith in religious and superstitious activities. They were the worshiper of Hindu Goddess Kali.<sup>1</sup> It was believed by them that she would not desert them. Garg (1965: 72) mentions "Every thug fully convinced that the Goddess had created the system and that she invariably saved. Thugs from punishment or disaster, so lay as they obeyed the rules she had laid down for their operation." He mentions the statements of Sleeman, "They considered the persons murdered as victims offered up to Goddess, and they remember them as priest of Jupiter remembered."<sup>2</sup>

Actually they believed that strangling of victims was a part of their sacred duty. Garg (1965: 71) write about their religious ceremony, "Some of these thugs were Brahmins by caste. Brahmin members of the gang, used to conduct the religious ceremonies before start of their all-famed operations. The neophyte, whether the son of a thug or a new recruit was initiated in an impressive religious ceremony and took adreadful oath of absolute fidelity to the brotherhood."<sup>3</sup>

1. Dodwell, H.H., 1932: op. cit., p. 33.

2. Garg, R.P., 1965: op. cit., pp. 71-72.

3. Ibid.

Sleeman also suggests a similar view about sacred Pujah, "Dansh Marni" is a general Pujah performed by them before an expedition. Sometime they keep the proceeds of several affairs for a general Pujah. They aparted a special share of plundered booty for Pujah. They aparted a special share, suppose they had made hundred rupees by a murder, two rupees five annas as would be laid aside for the pujah.

Code of Conduct:- Every member of group was bound by strict rules and regulation which were as inviolable as religious vows and oaths taken before the image of Kali. They did not murder the man carrying a cow, Paqueer, Carpenter, Blacksmith, the master. There is not the cases of destroying any temple or molesting a woman in general. But rascal thugs did not bind to these ethics.

Garg, 1965; writes, "The thugs on occasions adopted different disguises. Especially donning the dresses and marks of ascetics, they possess a code of vocabulary and a number of secret signals which could be used, without danger, in the presence of outsiders."<sup>1</sup>

1. Garg, R.P., 1965: op. cit., p. 71.

### BRITISH PERIOD AND DACOITY

Like the bane of thugges, dacoity has been practiced by some pre British influential persons and landlords in these regions. Who have been uprooted and left without a living due to new revenue system and the record of rights prepared by British administrations of India. In fact, the common people as well as landlords were not satisfied with the British policy of revenue settlement. During the land settlement to know the effect of famine 1837-38 it was noticed that people were not interested in agricultural pursuits due to high rate of revenue. It resulted in many kinds of crime. J.W. Kaye wrote in his report : Administration of East India Company, p. 139, about the comment of Hastings, "Warren Hastings complained that the farming system has a tendency to extend and perpetuate this evil." He adds, "And the same fact is instigated upon and demonstrated on the evidence of the dacoits themselves by the present generation of British functionaries."<sup>1</sup>

There were many kinds of dissatisfied and uprooted people who joined by the bad characters and professional thieves and robbers of the area in these regions. With the passing of the time combination of these bad character people became very dangerous to the peace of these regions as they spread all over the area and plundered the civil population wherever they happened to go. In order to suppress dacoity no systematic efforts had been made before Sir Charles Metcalfe, the Lieutenant Governor

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1. Bhanu, D., 1954: op. cit., p. 233.

in April 1837 made the first attempts when Hugh Fraser was appointed special Magistrate, but no improvement could be effected by it. Therefore, when Lord Auckland took over the north western province in 1838 A.D., he decided to Unite the office of thugi and dacoity under Col. Sleeman.

In fact, central India in early Nineteenth century was a dacoits infested area including many varieties of deviants i.e. Pindaries, Pathans, Bheels, Sondees, Grassiahs, Makranahs and Gujars etc. Grasiah were Rajputs chief who had been dislodged by the invaders and driven to acts of plunder in despair. The Sondees were a mixture of all classes and were successful freebooters. Sondees and Grassiahs inhabited a long tract popularly called Sondwara with 'Mahidpur' as its centre and stretching from Barar to Chambal region.

The practice of dacoity had reached its high water mark in the native state of Awadh before its incorporation into the British dominion because the native rulers of the small state were unable to maintain law and order in their states. The Awadh frontier on three sides of North Western Province gave considerable trouble to the police and was a source of constant danger to the peace of Doab region. The weak Government of Awadh had no control over these frontiers areas, while in the interior also the conditions were not enviable. The bad characters of Awadh were almost independant due to the difficulty of roads, and as a result there of the people of the neighbouring district of Doab region had to suffer from their deperadations.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Shanu, D., 1954: op. cit., p. 238.

Awadh Frontier Dacoits:- A large number of bandits and robbers used to enter into the province usually from outside of British territory specially from Awadh and Sindhi's territory. British Government was however, convinced that though the dacoits had their origing outside the company's territory and they had generally the local aids in the vicinity of the places of their attack. The British officials too, found it difficult to believe that the frontier dacoit and robbers could prevail without some connivance and assistance from the regular risidents. Similarly Mr. Alexander Ross in his minute of Feb. 27, 1837 A.D. expressed the opinion that gangs of such robbers were formed and their head quarters were located away form their places of their activities. But he said that the local police could do little or nothing against these gangs.<sup>1</sup>

In order to check the activities of these robbers and dacoits Auckland had to appoint a joint magistrate specially for the Tarai. At the same time, the Tahsildar throughout the Doab region were authorised to exercise the powers of police and this help in the suppression of crime in accordance with regulation of XI of 1836 A.D.<sup>2</sup>

1. Minute of Ross, Vide Home, Judicial Proceedings No. 13 of February 27, 1837, Bhanu, D., (1954 :236) op. cit.

2. Auckland On Administration of Justice in 1836, Vide Home Miscellaneous Records (Judicial) No. 18 of December 10, 1837, Quoted by Bhanu, D., (1954:236), op. cit.

Mr. Robinson, the commissioner of Agra, rightly reported that the Awadh territory "Offered complete immunity to our proclaimed offenders thong thither. Ultimately, therefore, the North Western Province Government had to raise a special police Battalion for the preservation of public peace on the Oudh Frontiers in 1844.<sup>1</sup>

Budhak Dacoits:- Col. Biseemam put up an end to the dacoity of Budhak tribe and some other criminals. There was class of dacoits in India known as Budhak dacoit. According to Kapoor 'Budhak literally means a Killar but according to early British official terminology, a dacoit was called'badhak'.<sup>2</sup> Their origin was Gujrat from where they had migrated all over India and settled in Tarai area. They were hereditary bandits spoke Gujarati language, raided the Government treasuries and the murchants. They liberally shared in their spoil with Zamindars, were always desirous to welcome them to stay in their territory. They had no permanent houses, resided mostly in the hills and forest to Tarai area. They had become usually bold and committed the most fearful attrocities against merchants and travellars passing through the area with their merchandise and the belongings and the herdsman going with their cattle. These dacoits had made the lives of the residents living the villages and nearby areas of bordering forest most insecure. Life and property had become insecure skeletons of human beings were

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1. Shanu, D., 1954: op. cit., p. 238.
  2. Kapoor, Bishan, 1960: op. cit., p. 36.

were usually found tied to the trees and dead bodies of people butchered in cold blood, were discovered on the highways.

The gangs of these dacoits were so well organised in their raids that no native Government could dare to offend them, and even British Government had to raise fortifications around their native Collector's treasuries near the Chambal ravines to escape their depredations. In 1839 A.D., the British Government decided to destroy them with the help of the native rulers. About 1200 families of badhak dacoits were believed to be residing in the Awadh Tarai at the time and by 1842 A.D., about half of these families had been seized or destroyed. In 1842 A.D., about 300 such dacoits again crossed in to Tarai towards the border of Gorakhpur. The Awadh Government was requested to assist in their pursuit, the state compiled astone and many of them were seized and handed over to the incharge of the thugs and dacoity.<sup>1</sup>

Efforts to Suppress Outlawry:- Actually, at that time local police as well as authority failed to check the evil of outlawry. Mr. Stockvale, Commissioner of Muradabad rightly complained in 1835, 'Police has been comparatively neglected in consequences of the increased attention paid to late years to the ravenous affairs and that measure are necessary to replace it on its former footing of importance before efficient and successful management can be secured.'<sup>2</sup>

British Government had to raise a special police

1. Foreign Dept. Political Consultation, p. 226, 20 December 1850, quoted from Chaturvedi, K.C. (1960) The Annexation of Awadh, Ph.D. Thesis, Agra Uni.

2. Bhanu, D., 1954: op.cit., p. 238.

battalion for the preservation of public peace on the Awadh Frontier in 1844. In spite of the best efforts of captain Hearsay who was in charge of it robbers from this side continued to plunder and pillage the north west province so much that Buller, the Magistrate of Shahjahanpur had to report of November 13, 1847, "As far as the interests of that district are concerned, the Oude frontier police does not exist."<sup>1</sup> Peace and order was established in these regions only after Awadh was annexed by Lord Dalhousie and proper administration was introduce there.

At that time the police was corrupt, as a district Superintendent of police admits in his article on the police, "Extortion of a galling type was almost universal."<sup>2</sup> In the preevolt in the period in these regions, as today in Uttar - Pradesh illegal gratification and bribe were usual with police officials as well as rank and file. That corruption of police officials increased later on when the police duties were taken over from the Magistrate. Kaye, had to admit, "Police is the weakest point of our administration".<sup>3</sup>

The main duty of Military police was to hunt-out and punish the local rebels.

1. Ibid. pp. 237-40.

2. Ibid. p. 238.

3. Kaye, 'Administration of East India Company, p. 348-52,

Quoted from Shanu,D. 1954:240, op. cit.

### OUTBREAK OF MUTINY AND OUTLAWRY

The British administration had disappeared from Bundelkhand and Doab during the period of Mutiny. In 1857 Rani Laxmi Bai of Jhansi was forced to leave the state, but she managed to reach Kalpi to join her forces with Nawab of Banda, Tatia Tope and others. At the same time the people of Banda, Jauharpur and Piprahi in Pailani began openly to plunder the surrounding country, and their example was followed by the villagers of Semany districts.

The power of British was entirely subverted, the state of these district can best be described in the words of Mr. Mayne, the Collector of Banda, "In the paragana the news spread like wildfire and the villagers rose in every directions and plundered and murdered each other promiscuously. Old enmities and the long smothered wish for revenge were forth with satisfied. Auction purchasers and decree holders were ousted, travellers and merchandise plundered and servants of Government compelled to fly for their lives; and in all instance Government property and building were plundered and destroyed. Everyman's hand was against his neighbour and the natives rebelled in all the license and madness of unchecked anarchy and rebellion in a manner such as only Asiatics can relish in these pleasure.<sup>1</sup>

The Nawab of Banda had become a through rebel, and

1. Drake, Brockman, D.L., 1909: Banda: A Gazetteer, p. 184, op.cit.

centered into closed correspondance with other rebellion chiefs. Kalpi became the rebel headquarters. Tantia Tope at the head of Sindia's troops who mutined at Gwalior, moved in the direction of Jalaun.<sup>1</sup>

The situation was so critical that even native states were plundering each other. Pathak, (1977:215) observes, "The Orchha troops not only inflicted a great injury on the agricultural population of some paraganas of Jhansi by plundering and driving off the cattles but also collected ten lacs of rupees as ravane. The state of Datia did not lag behind in the race and plundered many villages during those critical days when the district of Jhansi was being trampled by the British troops."<sup>2</sup>

Local chieftains were trying to made good their own claims to the old state and paraganas. Unruly land holders, outlaws like Despat (Mauranipur), Daulat Singh and the rebel rajas of small state like Banpur (Lalitpur) Shahgarh (Tikangarh), Charkhari (Hamirpur) with large members of irregular troops spread over to plunder. The outlaw Despat and robbing bands of rebel plundered unchecked the central paraganas in Hamirpur, finding a secure assylum in the wild country near the junction of Betwa and Dhasan.<sup>3</sup>

1. Ibid. p. 189.

2. Atkinson, E.T., 1874: Statistical Description and Historical Account of N.W.P. of India, vol.I, p.300.  
Quoted, Pathak, S.P.(1977+215), pp.cit.

3. Drake, Brockman, D.L., 1909: Hamirpur: A Gazetteer, p.160 op.cit

Before and after the mutiny of 1857 A.D., where as several of districts in the province of Bundelkhand have been annexed to the possessions of the East India Company due to rebellious activities, the Ikrarnamah were made to get security and satisfaction. Aitchison (1876:323) mentions many Ikrarnamah written by the rebels, Jagirdars on the given type, "Ikrarnamah of Allegiance of Rao Prithvi Singh, Jagirdar of Jignee - I engage not to permit thieves or robbers to reside in any of my village and if the property of any of the inhabitants or travellers be plundered or stolen in any of my village I engage to make the Zamindar of such village responsible for the stolen property."<sup>1</sup>

#### IMPOVERTISHMENT OF LANDLORDS

During the process of land revenue settlement and later on the long standing landlords and malgujars who failed to pay their taxes were harassed and deprived of their lands and property. Higher caste like Rajputs and Brahman were, in fact, the main occupants of the land and had enjoyed considerable freedom under the former rulers including Marathas and Bundelas, were now hit hard. In Bundelkhand the Bundela Thakurs who had justified themselves as the real successors by keeping up the spirit of rebelliousness against not only British rulers or Marathas but Mughals also, were physically strong and frayed tempered as well as brave and aggressive people. They are still overly sensitive to their self respect and family clan prestige.

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1. Aitchison, C.U., 1876: op. cit., p. 323.

Besides it, inspite of becoming worse economic conditions, they struggled hard to maintain pomp and show of older days.

In fact, there is no other means of income except the earnings of the land revenue which they used to collect from their tenants. It felt too short as the natural increase of their families resulted in a constant sub division of their ancestral property including land. The feudalistic mode of life cultivated the habit of spending lavishly which combined with the devastation of agricultural misfortunes left no alternative to meet out their huge expenditure. Thus they had to barrow loans from money lenders against their land holdings.

The disposition of lands, therefore, induced these martial castes to overthow law and resort to rebellion and plunder. In due coarse of time, organised by these vigorous elements, the whole Bundelkhand became infested by dacoit gangs. The extreme poverty had for reaching consequences. It gave favourable conditions in the amplification of dacoity.

The gangs were chiefly organised by Rajputs because they had all the know how of strategies for a long period. In Bundelkhand gangs were organised by Bundela Thakurs during those critical days, as Katare finds, "In 1822, Bankaji a Bundela Thakur of a Naogaon (Jhansi) started his maulading activities with his associates. His gang along with others committed 93 dacoities, besides those unreported.<sup>1</sup> Gajraj (1835) was first Robinhood of Doab area before Nan Singh.

1. Katare, S.S., 1972: op. cit., p. 29.

In 1857, Diwan Deshpant, a rebel, fled away from Nawgaon judicial lock up and took shelter in Chhatarpur forests. Col. Thomson encountered him and killed him. His nephew Raghunath Singh rebelled against British Government.<sup>1</sup> In 1858, Chhatarsingh from Jhansi made a descent on the district, of Hamirpur plundered Rath and killed the local Government officials. Bands of robbers infested the wild hilly area of Mahoba and Kulpahar and one of the most notorious of these outlaws, named Raghunath was killed in 1869.<sup>2</sup>

The three principal bands of dacoits were headed by Debee Singh, Bikram Singh and Jaswant Singh respectively. Thanin, the district superintendent of police, Lalitpur surprised the first August in 1862 when with only 14 fellows he most gallantly attacked a band of 60 men; eight of the gang were killed and Debee Singh himself was wounded.

Thus, in Bundelkhand every village was full of potential dacoits. In order to check the menace, Pathak (1977:220) finds, "In 1891 A.C. Martin was appointed as a special officer to give a death blow to this menace in Bundelkhand, but no permanent solution could be achieved. However, the dacoits continued to haunt this region and this problem could not be eradicated for many years".<sup>3</sup>

A most notorious dacoit was Dhiraj Singh Bundela who

1. Katre, S.S., 1972: op. cit., p. 29.
2. Drake, Brockman, D.L., 1909: Hamirpur, A Gazetteer, p. 160.
3. Pathak, S.P., 1977: op. cit., p. 220.

was captured in 1918, then in 1929 Nahar Singh, Dulia and Balwanta became notorious. In 1940 Donger Singh shot dead, soon Man Singh in Chambal and Debee Singh in Bundelkhand took his place. Beside these, Dhara Vijayee, Ratana, Granthe Singh, Bire-Ajuddhi Yadav were some prominent gang leader in Doab area before Independance. After Independance there is a flood of dacoit gangs. Lachhman Lodha, Maniram and Gokula Lodhi, Bhudeva Mai, Chandana Chamar, Dada Tejguru and Arjun Singh Gosain were the notorious gangs in Doab region which eliminated before sixty.

It will take many pages to write the names of hard boiled and hot headed dacoit of these areas. This synoptic overview shows that dacoity in these regions has had a long history.

**CHAPTER : VII**

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**SOCIO-CULTURAL BASE OF DACTY**

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## SOCIO-CULTURAL BASE OF Dacoity

Sociological analysis begins with a problem. To begin with a problem means to identify some variations in human behaviour and attempt to explain the reason(s) for these variations. Such variations become the dependant variables. These variables are found in units of social structure and variations of human behaviour oriented to social structure.

Social structure is a concept used to characterize recurrent and regularized interaction among two or more persons. The basic units are not persons as such, but selected aspects of interaction among persons, such as roles and social organisation, which refers to structural clusters of roles. The important defining feature of social structure are that interaction is selective, regularized and regulated by various social controls. In the analysis of social structure, three basic concepts are particularly important: Value, Norms and Sanctions. Value refers to beliefs that legitimise the existence and importance of specific social structure and the kinds of behaviour that transmit in social structure. Norms refer to standards of conduct that regulate the interaction among individuals in social structure. Norms are more specific than values in their control of interaction in social structure.<sup>1</sup> Sanctions including both rewards and deprivations refer to the use of various social resources to control the behaviour of

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1. Snelser, Neil J., 1965: *The Sociology of Economic Life*,  
p. 27, Prentice Hall of India (Pvt. Ltd.)  
New Delhi.

personnel in social structure. Aspects of this control includes the establishment of roles, the inducement of individuals to assume and perform roles, and control of deviance from expected role performance.

A concept which unifies the elements of social structure - including roles, collectivities, values, norms, sanctions - is the concept of institutionalisation. This refers to distinctive, enduring expectations whereby these elements are combined into a single complex. Social structures are classified in terms of some set of basic directional tendencies of social system in general. We tentatively identified several such tendencies - the creation, maintenance and transmission of cultural values: the pursuit of economic activity, the conduct of political activity, the maintenance of social integration.

Social system refers to the patterning of structural units in such a way that change in one or more units set up pressure for adjustment on the part of other units. Other views of social system allow for a greater degree of mutual influence among the component structures. In any case the notion of system is an analytic concept that enables us to talk about the relations among structural units in sociology and to generate proposition about these relations. Now do we clarify system? At the societal level we refer to the same directional tendencies - cultural, economic, political integrative - as the organising principles for sub systems.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Ibid..... p. 27.

### SOCIAL BASE OF DACOITY

On the basis of historical analysis we have explored the origin of dacoity in these regions can be traced in the non-accommodativeness of the rigid traditional structure of Indian Society. Various-social, historical and ecological factors combined to breed and feed the dacoity, system of control. It is indeed, a peculiar problem with its own network, norms, procedures and system of control. It is a paradox that it derives sustenance and stimulation largely from the same system that opposes and resists it.

The inmate dacoits in our sample study support the rural base of the problem. Some 93 percent dacoits in our sample belong to rural areas. A slight percentage of dacoits came from the urban dwelling in the profession. Most of them are from the villages of Doab. A majority of the dacoits were from Uttar Pradesh (98.19%) especially from the dacoits infested districts of Doab and Bundelkhand (46.41%) and its nearby districts (21.87%) of Uttar Pradesh. Mainpuri, Etah, Farrukhabad and Etawah appear to have been the largest source of dacoits in Doab. Banda, Jhansi and Jalaun accounted for the largest number of dacoits in Bundelkhand.

TABLE : XXVII

Regional Distribution of Dacoits

S.No.	Area	No. of Dacoits	Percentage
1.	Doab Districts	83	37.05
2.	Bundelkhand Distt.	21	9.37
3.	Nearby Districts	49	21.87
4.	Other Districts of U.P.	67	29.91
5.	Out of Uttar Pradesh	4	1.79
	Total	224	99.98

The regional distribution of dacoits points out that the nearby districts of dacoits infested regions of Uttar Pradesh are equally dacoity prone. A cursory sociological survey showed that there are many contributing factors also, illiteracy, ignorance, superstition, belief, religious orthodoxy, naive faith in astrology and tenacious adherence to outdated social customs and traditions, in brief, social backwardness in general is one or more factors which complicated already difficult problem and situation. So far as the literacy of inmate dacoits is concerned, almost half of them (49.55%) were illiterate while rest of them secured their education upto primary, Junior high school, high school and intermediate and above as given in the table.

TABLE : XXVIII  
Literacy And Education of Inmate Dacoits

S.No.	Education	No. of Dacoits	Percentage
1.	Illiterate	111	49.55
2.	Literate (upto primary)	69	30.80
3.	Junior High School	19	8.49
4.	High School	18	8.03
5.	Intermediate and Above	7	3.12
<hr/>			
Total		224	99.99

social backwardness accounts for the high incidence of early marriage in rural society. Almost 69 percent of inmates

in our sample were found married before flouted the law and took dacoity. Some 21 percent of dacoits were unmarried and a bare 9 percent were widowers. Also the dacoits belonged, generally to joint families. Hence, family pressure also provoked them to be deviants. In their families earning members were less and ill earned. A large majority of inmate dacoits (90.17%) was Hindu and 8.5 percent were Muslims by faith. Christian and Sikhs were nominal. Most of the inmates accepted that they were the worshiper of Durga or local deities.

The following are some major societal bases that support the system of dacoity not only in dacoits infested regions of Uttar Pradesh but alien states of central India.

#### AGRARIAN PROBLEM

Unlike the western countries violent crime is almost exclusively a characteristic of metropoles, in India it is predominantly a rural phenomenon. The general belief that rural societies are well integrated and homogenous, is not borne out by facts. They are, in fact, divided and sub divided on the basis of caste, occupation, social inequality, inherent status and roles, family feuds and political conflicts etc.

The root cause factors of this unharmonious panorama of agrarian society, are the growing family tension and population pressure, lack of additional employments, growing pressure on land, expensive rituals, illiteracy, debts, caste politics and factionalism. At present, the social values have degraded to such extent that even the females of rural community

are not secured without proper protection and safe. The societal resistance has slacken to antisocial elements as it grants dacoity a vigorous continuity.

One, may, therefore infer that along with harmony as understood by sociologists like Durkheim, Sorokin and Zimmerman, there are also areas of disharmony which generate friction, conflict and violence in rural peasant societies. As Srinivas, (1972:16) supported the fact that conflict and violence in rural society is due to the processes of social change.<sup>1</sup> Thus, the social structure of rural society in these areas is so deeply involved in deviant activities that a citizen in his individual capacity can not look to societal interest. The family, caste and religious feuds and rivalries, have gone so deep and led the rural people so hard that this has become their major occupation and normal respect to moral, love for each other has been totally lost.

Besides it, one of the major cause for prevalence of dacoity in agrarian society is the physiographic advantage which precludes or hinders effective resistance to dacoity. Besides the ravinous land of Chambal valley, the bad lands of Uttar Pradesh - the belt between Etah, Etawah and Mainpuri is flat, dusty and barren, provide a good hideout for fugitive of law. The dead arms of streams and their dry channels offer a good sanctuary for the dacoit gangs. Using the river embark-

1. Srinivas, M.N., 1972: Social Change In Modern India, p.16,  
Orient Longman, New Delhi.

ment a number of dacoit gangs sought shelter in jungles and riversides of Chambal, Yamuna and Ganga including their tributaries. Thus, social setup in the rural area not only provides protection but supports for deviants.

#### FAMILY AND KINSHIP SYSTEM

Both family as well as kinship provide a sense of security and fulfilment which a dacoit require to bear the burdens of vagabond life style. Besides it, family environment shapes the character, attitude and mental make up of a man. Criminality in family play a vital role in generating dacoity - first, it provide a criminal background to the offspring and its members, secondly it sustains the system also.

There are many examples like Man Singh who fathered dacoit offsprings. Among the surrendered dacoits of Bateshwar in 1976, some of dacoit chieftains had a chain of family members who were indulged in dacoities with them. Katare reveals in his study, "15 dacoits out of 32 were the products of the families, who were engaged in illegal occupations such as smuggling, disposal of stolen property, theft, robbery and dacoities, and thus, the seeds of criminality were sown in the tender age."<sup>1</sup>

Thus, it is known fact that criminality in family has been a significant factor in leading them to dacoity. As in the case of Man Singh, Bhaduri (1972 : 23) comments, "The biggest misfortune that can be fall a man in life is to be son

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1. Katare, S.S., 1974: op. cit., p. 122.

of a criminal such was also the misfortune of Man Singh.<sup>1</sup> The family histories of notorious dacoits like Jarman, Alwar, Mahavira, Chhabiram, Ramautar, Khardushan and Vinoda revealed that they did not belong to the families where their kinsmen or they themselves were finding it difficult to make their ends meet.

The kinship relation, as we found, is a very strong factor in harbouring the dacoits as well as becoming a potential dacoit. A dacoit's attachment to his relations is so strong that neither affiliation with gang nor living a hundred miles away from home affects the strength of his kin affiliation. An attempt has been made to gether information on relations in family who have been taken to a criminal career including dacoity; hardly 17 percent of inmate dacoits accepted one or more relatives or family members have been convicted or apprehended by the police for some penal offences. Actually on this point most of the inmates did not want to stigmatised their family saying about their criminal activities. Chieftain Janak Singh surrendered at Bateshwar in 1976 with his seven relatives. Actually, kinship system is fountain head of harbouring the dacoity which later on become the source of potential dacoits.

#### CASTE SYSTEM

Caste among Hindus is an important factor determining a person's status and role he is expected to play in relations

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1. Bhaduri, T.C., 1972: Chambal The Valley of Terror, p. 23,

Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd., Delhi.

to others in society. It also intricates the social and cultural standard of a person. Here, the role of caste is very complicated and multidimensional, because in general, it is getting stronger and weaker at the same time.<sup>1</sup> Though, there are very few cases in which indulged person have become dacoits like Man Singh, Janak Singh or Shadashiv alias Fauji due to caste conflicts, but it is sure that caste has relevance in sustaining the gang, harbourer relationship. Caste conflicts are predominantly source of dacoities kidnappings and mass murders. Every caste has own nest and the criminals, who were forced to embrace criminalities due to mostly family feuds, were Ahirs, Lodhi, Kachhies from Mainpuri and Etah districts, Thakurs and Brahmans from Etawah districts, Ahirs, Muslims and lower caste criminals mainly from Farrukhabad districts.

Our study reveals that potential dacoits are generally flared up from higher echelons of the caste while the female dacoits have mostly been from lower socio-economic strata and who have generally unhappy marital background.<sup>2</sup> All the dacoits in our sample are male and most of them belong to locally dominant caste or higher castes like Brahmans, Rajputs, Yadavas, Lodhies and Kurmis as expressed the caste distribution of inmate dacoits in table XIX.

#### Dacoits from the upper caste like Brahmans and Rajputs

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1. Pandey, R.: A Note on the Continuity And Change of Caste System in Rural India, Paper Presented at the 3rd U.P.Sociological Conference, Dec. 26-27, 1980, Lucknow University.

2. See The Case History of Female Dacoits

who had thrived and profited under the feudal system, found their fortunes threatened by the socio-economic changes and transformations of the new era. As Cohen observes, "The chamars as well as Thakurs are affected by these changes. They raise their social status principally through attempting to organise themselves to achieve a better power position in the villages and trying to sanskritise their behaviour to make themselves more like the upper caste in their social and ritual activities."<sup>1</sup> The lower caste people with growing economic facilities and employment opportunities are reluctant to do the menial type of jobs and free labour. Now they do not like to be exploited by privileged castes. Consequently the lower castes people are conspired in petty crimes by upper and dominant castes. After a good deal of suffering the lower castes people also adopt the same way of rebelliousness which once was adopted by upper castes people. Gary (1965:59) reveals the fact,

"The Brahmins and Thakurs were traditionally in habit of exacting forced labour from the lower castes. It is naturally resented by the lower castes and particularly the Jatavas and they gradually stopped the performance."<sup>2</sup> This situation created caste conflicts between upper and lower caste. In the post independent era, the inter caste relations changed considerably. The Indian constitution came into force Zamindari

1. Cohen, S. Barnard, "The Changing Status of A depressed Caste" In Mckim Marriot, (ed.), *Village India*, p. 53-77, 1955, Chicago.

2. Gary, R.P., 1965: op. cit., p. 59.

was abolished, forced labour became illegal and practice of untouchability became punishable offence. It affected the thinking of lower caste people as Margolkar(1974:302) finds, in these areas, "In the Chambal valley, the Chamars are of the most oppressed communities among the "untouchables" refused to practice free their ancestral profession of disposal of dead cattle and tanning hide. The Thakurs were most offended by this "arrogance" of one of the lowest caste. Moreover the system of adult franchise had conferred on the lowest among lowly the right to vote. So overnight, even the members of low castes attained a political status and importance."<sup>1</sup>

Thus, those who were socially and economically powerful in their previous regime by reason of their belonging to higher caste, suffered a sudden loss of status and prestige. The radical change angered them that they came to oppose the newly established Government. They fancied that they were keeping up the glorious past traditions of rebelliousness against constituted authority, as we have discussed in the last chapter.

There is a striking fact why from the very inception of the institution of dacoity, most of the dacoits came from the Rajput clans and in present time from higher echelons of society. Actually, traditionally these people have always commanded power and privilege and sunned manual work. The increase in population and sub division of property, as also the introduction of land reform have reduced a large number

1. Margolkar, Vasant, 1974: op. cit., p. 302.

of Thakurs to the status of petty land holders. It is difficult to maintain their customary status. The impoverished condition of Thakurs have led them to the lawless banditry as we have analysed in the previous chapter. Besides it, the violent norms, pattern of socialisation and reaction against the loss of power and economic interests are some societal determinants for germinating dacoity in some castes. In fact, the caste hierarchy has not lost its total grip over the political and economic decisions of the rural society yet the joint forces of backward and schedule caste making a dent into the power structure of the village.<sup>1</sup> After Independence the backward castes have benefited to the great extent but the economic mobility of backward castes could not bring them to the top position in caste hierarchy. The result is that they want to compensate this situation through the hold or grip over the power structure. Thus, they try to establish superiority of caste in political sphere by hook or crook which results in castes conflicts and tensions. Neerja Choudhary wrote in her article: "A criminal in Bihar is no longer just a criminal. He is a hero of his caste and has a place in politics."<sup>2</sup>

The same situation is prevailing in these dacoits infested regions also. The mass massacres committed by some dacoit gangs showed the same results, in which caste interests and caste protection came to forefront. Singh (1980:91) also supports the fact, "Those of the higher castes with impoverished

1. Mishra, L.S.: "Social Inequality in the Peasant Society in U.P?"  
Paper Presented at 3rd U.P. Sociological Conference, Lucknow, 1980.

2. Choudhary, N.: A Case Study: Roots of Violence in Bihar, Indian Express, March 13, 1981, New Delhi.

means and the lower castes who are ambitious and also capable of managing the necessary resources and exercising power, are the ones who resort to violence to get what they want - status, power, value and an outlet for aggression.<sup>1</sup> Though Thakurs played a dominant role in organising the gangs and committing dacoities, they had to employ the other caste people and aborigines who by association also learnt the tricks of the trade and in course of time formed their own gangs.

#### STRUCTURAL INEQUALITY

The Indian experiments in development basically aims at equality of all sections of the population belonging to various caste, creed and classes, and both the sexes. It has social, economic as well as political dimensions. The aim of social equality is primary to abolish the hierarchical caste structure.<sup>2</sup>

There has been a growing awareness in rural area that although, according to democratic principles goods and services should be distributed on the basis of equality to everyone, the principle is essentially only an ideal and does not exist in reality. Caste hierarchy is still dominant in the dacoits infested areas. The people of middle and lower castes who think that inequality in society exists because of selfishness of privileged castes, vested interest of economic

1. Singh, R.G., 1980: op. cit., p. 91.

2. Sharma, K.N.: "A Profile of Indian Experiment in Development"  
The Journal of Sociological Studies, vol.I,  
No.1, p. 44, January 1982, Jodhpur.

and political elite and the Government employees and also because of powerlessness of lower caste people. This situation creates tension occasionally and lower caste people are also trapped in false cases of dacoity, robbery and other crimes.

The economy of village is generally based on agriculture and to some extent on jajmani system which demands corporate life of people but the hostilities created by social as well as economic elite have dire consequences for the middle and lower caste. Many lower caste people have high aspirations but the poverty as well as social inequality do not allow them to fulfil their ambitions, we know well that on social side the inequality will not remove overnight. In general the traditional social structure was viewed as a mile stone round the neck of India in its path of development. This led to reform movements and pressure on the government to take legislative action for "reforming" Indian social structure.<sup>1</sup> It is also fact, that in post independent era, the inter caste relations have also changed considerably, but the values of modern society still do not hold roots in the rural communities of these areas!

#### MARTIAL TRADITION AND CULTURE

Every country has distinctive culture and various territories or communities within a society which have their own sub-culture. Likewise, some of the castes of these regions have also a sub culture which in some ways different from that of similar socially backward areas in these regions. The justi-

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1. Sharma, K.N., op. cit., p. 50.

fication for violence in any community is derived from the particular belief system historical and cultural values and norms of that society. Rajputs clans and other aborigines of these areas belong to martial communities. "Historical records show that Chandragupta Maurya secured the help of various hill tribes from Chambal and Bundelkhand. It would, thus appear that the tradition of military service and participation in wars are very old for the inhabitant of these regions."<sup>1</sup> This was the reason that Mr. Hume during the British regime, once the collector of Etawah had stated, "Give the Rajputs and fighting men reasonable means and happy homes, free them from those instruments of torture, the civil courts and the native usher, and they will fight for order and the Government under whom they are well off. Make it easier for Gujar, Ahirs and other classes to grow richer by agriculture than by crime and besides making criminal administration cheaper, most of these will, for their own sake, side with Government."<sup>2</sup>

Leaving the past history of warship aside, still about one member of each family serves military or police armed forces. In Rajput Regiment Centre, Fatehgarh the number of soldiers would be higher of these dacoits infested regions whether they belong to any caste.<sup>3</sup> In fact, one of the many

1. Nargolkar, Vasant, 1974: op. cit., p. 206.

2. Garg, R.P., 1965: op. cit., p. 69.

3. Tripathi, S.K.: "Regional Dacoity Problem and Its Eradication" Paper presented at Workshop, 1982, Fatehgarh.

reasons for the emergence of the problem of dacoity in these regions is the existence of long martial tradition and culture which support the violence. As we have stated previously that Doab, Bundelkhand and Chambal areas are dominantly inhabited by early settlers of Rajputs clans, Yadavas, Gujars, Jats who had glorious past. The long history of rebellion and lawlessness has also affected the cultural pattern of social life in these regions.

John T. Hitchcock (1975) presents a real sketch of the martial traditions of Rajputs, "One for example, relates how a Rajput who is old, weak and hungry considers becoming a sneak thief in order to provide for his needs. But he decides instead to act like a Rajput and go out on to the high road and take what he wants by force."<sup>1</sup> The very thought fills him with such anger and bigger that he easily indulges in violent activities.

He further adds, "The tendency to rely on force which characterises the martial Rajput in his dealing with his own castemen also colours his relations with lower castes. This is justified by his belief that it is his duty to maintain the proper order and hierarchy in social relations".<sup>2</sup>

These warlike sentiments often lead these martial caste people to violate customary right of other members of

1. Hitchcock, John T., 1975: 'The Idea of Martial Rajputs: Traditional India, Milton Singer, (ed.), P, 11-15, Rawat Publications, Jaipur.

2. Ibid.

the village caste brotherhood. Resentment and fear of the powerful individual often flare into violence and he is either killed or else he incurs such a severe blow to his prestige that he is very much weakened. In this situation such person absconds and joins a gang. As the proverb is popular among the inhabitants of Doab regions, "Ya To Aunto Ya Mato Dacu Banata Hai".

#### VALUE SYSTEM

Social structure, social institution as well as social interaction and behaviour are all based upon social values. The study of values is a very fruitful approach to the understanding and prediction of social behaviour, and social institution. In order to interpret concrete behaviour one must have a knowledge of the basic assumption of the people, their performances - or values. All the agitation and direct actions which have occurred so frequently in recent decades could be traced to the changes in social values.

On the one hand there is a conscious, deliberate effort to change the social structure as a result of the assimilation of new social values. Because of the struggle for political freedom and the desire for economic reconstruction, and equality new social values have been incorporated in our society, based on the ideals of social justice and equality of opportunity. On the other hand, there is fear that the old social values are being repudiated and destroyed by the values of social justice and equality which pose a challenge

to the past privileges based on caste aristocracy.

Conflict Between The Old And New Values:- At present in Indian society the situation is complicated by the fact that many of the modern values are neither new nor alien. The Indian Parliament passed several legislatives acts in order to implement these new values and norms into practice. Reference may be made to the acts regarding marriage, inheritance of property by women, removal of inequality, bonded labour etc., but accepting these principles and even the enactments which render any infringement of these laws punishable, does not perfectly ensure that these new values have been assimilated into our cultural matrix.

Let us start with the problem of equality. In principle, equality as a social value has been accepted for thousands of years in our society. But in practice ever since the epic age, in post upanishadic and post Buddhistic time caste system and inequality have been practised extensively and rigourously. There are similar obstacle to the assimilation of a rationale outlook in life. Though, the Indian constitution is secular, one does not see any sign of the emergence of a secular outlook either among the elite or among the masses.<sup>1</sup>

One can find the difficulty of assimilating the new value in the context of old values. Which are vital and of immense significance to the development of the individual as well as society. But the society is struggling to retain the

1. Kuppuswamy, B., 1972: Social Change in India, p. 88,

Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd. Delhi.

old value while assimilating the new values is beneficial to the social development. All aspects of rural life in our country are permeated by hierarchy. The social structure is not hierarchical, it is also based on birth and there is hardly any scope for social mobility. Another important feature of traditional caste system is that upper castes people especially Thakurs and Brahmins do not like to enjoy manual labour. For agricultural pursuits they hire lower castes labourer which also creates tension in rural folk.

The Regional Value System:- The concept of violent regional sub culture does not, however, explain why certain communities within the same area are more prone to dacoity than others. It might be more relevant here to apply the idea of an occupant or caste sub culture, which is based on the assumption that certain elements, like norms, values, choices or expressions, of criminal orientation - are common to the members of a particular caste. We have seen that aggressive values predominate in the socialisation of the Rajputs, Ahirs, Gadarias and Gujars. Russel (1975:171) finds the same expression in proverbial style,

"Ahir, Gadaria, Gujar, E tinon taken ujar."<sup>1</sup>

The same proverbial statements are repeatedly told by the inhabitants of Chambal:

"Kattar Pani hai Chambal ka Chidia Pie bas ho jaye."

One major reason is clear that differential patterns of socialisation and avengeful thinking is the result of those

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1. Russel, R.V. & Miralal, 1975: op. cit., vol. III, p. 171.

value which are internalised during the course of socialisation. A man's aggressiveness is formed and sustained by feudal values such as lust for arms, caste superiority, revengeful feelings toward enemy or rival etc. This kind of conditioning begins early in childhood in some castes like Rajputs and criminal tribes. He is geared to retaliate by his colleagues, family members, his clan and castemen.

The people of these regions are found to be anxious to acquire more and more arms and their licences at the risk of selling their lands. This is the reason that there is no social stigma attached to heinous crimes. The rebels and dacoits are looked upon as noble and brave heroes like the old valiant warriors who never cared for their life. Dacoity is the means to power and prestige for such people in these areas. A father whose son has become dacoit is never treated ill by the local inhabitants.

Thus, violence is endemic and forms a part of the social norms in these regions. War like sentiments of a number of glory battles and skirmishes are nourished by the ballads or local songs like Allah, holi and other songs which affect the psychology of a man. One illustration would be quite sufficient to imagine the effect of 'Allaha'.

'Fix upon that kind of life in which a person's enemy sleep happily, without worrying about a sudden attack.'<sup>1</sup> Thus, the justification given an act largely accounts for its continued recurrence. The same case is with the menace of

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1. Nargolkar, V., 1974: op. cit., p. 206.

dacoity. People subscribe to the dacoity sometimes for fear but more often for money, status and power. This means that a man is as influential as his cudgel is long. Besides it, once again the eroding moral values and the institutional framework have created multidimensional corruption in our society, which feeds deviance in general. Girilal Jain comments on the corrupt situation of our society, "Corruption is a form of anarchy - moral anarchy. In some ways, it is in fact much worse. It is at once more insidious and more disruptive. We have almost reached a point where the people have lost faith in the moral integrity of the rulers and the rulers have lost the necessary moral authority."<sup>1</sup>

#### ECONOMIC FACTOR

It is fact that the sole or main cause of dacoity in this area is not economic but the pressure on land and hard economic conditions are bound to have comparatively more serious repercussions in the areas where armed gangs offer opportunities to get revenge. Though, dacoity is a product of socio-historical forces but the economic factors can not be lost of sight of a minor percentage of sample dacoits. A table listing their occupations before they embarked on a career of crime is catalogued below:

TABLE : XXIX  
Pre Dacoity Occupational Distribution

S.No.	Occupation	No. of Dacoits	Percentage
1.	Owner cultivator	129	57.57
2.	Cultivator-cum-tenant	34	15.19
3.	Servicemen	19	8.48
4.	Labourers	14	6.23
5.	Unemployed	13	5.83
6.	Businessmen	11	4.90
7.	Cultivator-cum-Jajmani	4	1.78
	Total	224	99.99

1. Jain, G.L.: 'The Enemy Today Is Corruption', The Times of India, October 2, 1983, Delhi.

Most of dacoits were engaged in agriculture before they took up dacoity. As the highest percentage of dacoits came from the agricultural sector, generally from the owner cultivators (57.57%), it is relevant to consider the size of their land holdings prior to their joining dacoity:

TABLE : XXX  
Land Holdings of Inmate Dacoits Prior to Dacoity

S.NO.	Size of Holdings (Acres)	No. of Dacoits	Percentage
1.	0-5	93	41.51
2.	5-10	39	17.41
3.	10-15	22	9.82
4.	15-20	17	7.58
5.	20-25	13	5.80
6.	25 and above	29	12.93
7.	Landless	11	4.91
Total		224	99.96

As much as 41.51 percent of the inmate dacoits had land holdings below 5 acres. Large size land holdings had been owned by higher caste dacoits. Lower caste inmate dacoits were found possessing nominal land holdings or they were landless. The depressing economic conditions in these areas require a brief explanation. The proverbially land hungry peasants are fast becoming landless labourers and standing in the que

of unemployed. Land and property disputes even though confined to relatively high economic level group are results of fragmentation of holdings and poor return from land. Sharma (1981:52) says, "I found that the decrease in the size of land holdings was caused primarily by family partitions. If there is exclusive dependence on agriculture the members of a family owning 7.5 acres will become landless labourers within three generations."<sup>1</sup> The piece of land are rearing high which lead to illegal occupation of land and brings disputes over land.

The results of rising value of land observed by Mehta (1966) highlights the fact:<sup>2</sup>

1. First, the farmers are now trying to secure as much as land by any means.
2. The illegal encroachments of land have created the rivalries and conflicts among the village people.
3. The number of violent fights between village factions have increased due to disputes over land.

A comparative analysis of land holdings and size of farms also tells the fact which is important for understanding the problem of land disputes and related violence in these regions. The most prominent feature of Doab especially is a large number of small holding as we have seen already in chapter III page 54-55. The number of small holdings shows

1. Sharma, K.N., 1982: op. cit., p. 52.
2. Mehta, Sushil, 1966: Pattern of Social Conflicts And Forces of Social Disintegration in a Village Community, p. 200, Doctoral Thesis, Agra University, Agra.

that the economic resources of the area are inadequate to support the vast population. A vast sheet of land in the districts of Doab region is bad land which makes the land uncultivable. Another paradox in these regions is that there are no alternative means of living except farming or labouring. The problem of employment has now become particularly acute in recent years because of the unprecedented increase in the population.

#### SOCIAL CHANGE AND DEVELOPMENT

It is known fact that the social change and development are not a simple function of a single factor alone. Technological advance, agricultural commercialisation, urbanisation and industrialisation have made far reaching structural changes. We have analysed these consequences in terms of differentiation and integration. The structural changes associated with economic development are likely to be disruptive to the social order for following reasons as Smelser (1965:112) analyses sociological aspect of economic development:<sup>1</sup>

- (1) Differentiation demands the creation of new activities, norms, and sanctions - money, political position, prestige based on occupation and so on. These often conflict with old modus of social action, which are frequently dominated by traditional systems. These traditional standards are among the most intransigent of obstacles to modernisation, and when they are threatened, serious dissatisfaction and opposition arise.

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1. Smelser, Neil J., 1965: The Sociology of Economic Life, p.112,  
Prentice Hall of India, Pvt. Ltd. New Delhi.

(2) Structural changes is, alone all, uneven in periods of development. And through out the society, the differentiation occasioned by agricultural, industrial and urban changes always proceeds in a see saw relationship with integration. The two sets of forces continuously breed, legs and bottle-necks. The faster the tempo of modernisation, the more severe are the discontinuities.

(3) 'Dissatisfactions arising from these discontinuities sometimes are aggravated by attempts to overcome them. Some discontinuities may be relieved in part by new devices. Such innovations are often opposed, however, by traditional vested interests because the new forms of integration compete with the old.' The result of these discontinuities is a tug of war between the old and new forces of integration.

Developmental factors contributed to deviant by aggravating social tensions. As S. Venugopal Rao writes in his book, "Dynamics of crime: Spatial and Socio-Economic Aspects of Crime in India." Dacoities and robberies are likely to increase considerably in the general context of the development process. Bank robberies have been virtually unknown in India, but with the phenomenal expansion of banking in rural and remote areas, a spurt in such offences may reasonably be anticipated.<sup>1</sup>

The sharp increase in the incidence of violent crimes in the countryside is the result of several factors including the green revolution which has put a high premium on the possession of land. The channelisation of the develop-

1. Express Magazine, February 20, 1983, New Delhi.

mental inputs through Government agencies and panchayats has lent a bitter edge to the struggle for political power. Thus, the violence that increasingly characterises political rivalries at all levels and the resort to methods like murder of opponent, humiliation and torturing during the elections. Efforts to ensure social and legal justice, which have been a part of the development process, have ironically their own lacunae. For instance, the half hearted attempts at land reforms have not changed social and economic relations in the rural communities but aggravated land dispute and feuds which are the fountain source of violence and litigation in these areas.

Brahmans and Thakurs traditionally held most of the land in Uttar Pradesh. Before the time of independence the main cultivating castes in Bundelkhand did not possess adequate land. "In Banda Rajputs occupy one third of the whole cultivated area and Brahmins one fourth."<sup>1</sup> In Hamirput the Chief cultivating castes are Lodhi, Brahman and Rajputs who in the year of settlement held 25, 16 and 14 percent of the tenants holding area respectively,<sup>2</sup> while "in Jalaun the chief cultivating caste are Rajputs, Brahmins, Lodhies, Kurmi, Ahirs and Gujars who at the recent settlement held 25.83, 16.94, 12.28, 11.92, 4.63 and 4.38 percent of the total holding area respectively."<sup>3</sup> Following the enactment of land ceiling

1. Drake-Brokman, D.L., 1909: Banda: A Gazetteer, p. 114.

2. Ibid.. 1909: Hamirpur: A Gazetteer, p. 86.

3. Ibid.. 1909: Jalaun: A Gazetteer, p. 75.

laws, some parts of their land have gone to the intermediate caste such as Yadava, Kurnies, Lodhies and Mallahas and to some extent to lower caste. "If this has made the Brahmins and Thakurs resentful, their new found social and economic status has made the intermediate castes assertive."<sup>1</sup> This situation prevails in both the regions where the principal conflict is found among the Brahmins, Rajputs and Yadavas and Jatavas. In some area like Mainpur, Agra the conflict is between intermediate castes and scheduled castes like Jatavas. In both the regions of Doab and Bundelkhand, caste tensions and land disputes have led to bloody violence because of the involvement of dacoits who have become the protectors of their own castes.<sup>2</sup>

Karlekar states, "Caste tension, however, constitute one of the factors which explain the steep rise in dacoities and robberies, there are others, which are also the offshoots of the development process and which contribute to a varieties of crime besides dacoities. One of them is urbanisation and the accompanying process of migration from the village to the cities."<sup>3</sup> Thus, the development process have created hostility agitation and violence in rural mass.

#### POLITICAL FACTORS

As social system grow more complex, political systems are modified accordingly. Any system move towards greater

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1. Karlekar, H.: Indian Express Magazine, Feb. 20, 1983, New Delhi.
  2. See, the Mass Murder Incidents, Committed by Dacoits.
  3. Karlekar, H.: op. cit., February 20, 1983, New Delhi.

differentiation as population grows and economic and cultural heterogeneity increases. In Indian context the political system have evolved much further, with the appearance of political parties, pressure groups and even parliamentary systems. This modification has led to the formation of new caste lobbies which constitute some of the strongest and most explosive political force in India. Seling Harrison has argued, "for instance, that modern development in India have changed the significance of caste from the traditional village extension of joint family to regional alliances of kindred local units."<sup>1</sup>

In the preindependence setting in our country political integration is closely fused with kinship position, caste membership, control of the land and control of the power. The power structure, as an integral part of the political system, created and sustained criminality in these regions for a long time. The old landlords wield powerful influence on the social, political and economic life of the village community. From generation to generation leadership is handed down from father to son. The conditions of leadership in the villages today is very much fluid. Besides caste chieftains, faction leaders also occupy important position in rural society.

But, the principle of political equality stands in direct contradiction to the hierarchical order of caste, relation and the power structure of traditional village society. It was, therefore, found to come in conflict with existing social order. During Panchayat elections, due to hostility

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1. Snelser, Neil J., 1965: op. cit., p. 112.

created by groups conflict quarrels flare up. The rivalry of village leaders devide the whole village or rural community in many factions. Hold of castes and cots on village democracy is the main problem. No one can depend totally on one's caste members for ensuring success even in the elections. Still the caste play important role in the crystallisation of power in rural society, as Vanugopal (1983:85) observes,

"Rigidly stratified through the caste system which ordains each man his place in society, it functions as a sub society which permits and assist certain elite sections to assume power. When the system is attempted to be disturbed, conflict emerges either in the form of factions representing the interests of sub group among the privileged segments or in class struggle. In the later contingency, the sub groups, however, hostile to each other, join forces against a common threat to their power."<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, "In the absence of caste Panchayat and effective caste leaders, the division of caste into several lineages at the pressure of conflicts arising in joint families have made castes much less cohesive groups than one would presume."<sup>2</sup>

A number of observers of Indian socio political scene have found caste playing a crucial role in elections:

1. People became conscious of the influence and powers of political institutions and privileges attached with it.

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1. Rao, Vanugopal, 1983: op. cit., p. 85.

2. Sharma, K.N., 1982: A Profile of Indian Experiment In Development. op. cit., p. 44.

2. Rivalries have been created by elections and the villages were devided into many hostile camps as we have discussed.
3. Number of violent incidents took place immediately before and after elections. Defeated group keeps up fight and take help of anti social elements to resolve the disputes.
4. The village leaders could not provide leadership for construction because there is power vaccum due to the constant conflict in rural communities.

Besides, the above affects, the main thing is that the political leaders provide protection to antisocial elements including dacoits in their areas. In order to provide protection for them they interfere in the working of police. A study conducted by Khan (1983:175) demonstrates, "that 34.46 percent of functionnaries came across interference by politician frequently, whereas 32.13 percent came across interference in working by politicians at times."<sup>1</sup> Infact, sometimes the role of these politicians are like brokers between police and antisocial elements.<sup>2</sup>

The inroads the influence of the organised gangs started making in the politics of the affected regions was gradual to start but came to become the deciding factor during the elections which were held during the course of last three decades, and thereafter. Even, some of the politicians secure the blessings of dacoits gang in their areas to win at the poll.

1. Khan, S.A., 1983: op. cit., p.175.

2. Pahava, G.L.; "Daku, Police and Neta" Dainik Jagaran, September 13, 1981, Jhansi.

### LEGAL SYSTEM

Problem of day to day deteriorating situation of law and order is related with corruption, delay in justice interference by politicians and so many other lacunae in the legal system. Law enforcement depends upon the legislature, the executive and the judiciary. Time has shown at a very severe cost to the nation that the existing legal system has miserably failed in dealing with the problems of contemporary society. The very purpose of law is defeated because existing laws and their enforcement are defective.

The justice, though in spirit is democratic but in practice has become very technical, expensive and time consuming. It is beyond the reach of a common man. Except for a few seasoned litigants, the rest, at the cost of their own losses, either try to resolve at their own level by spending lots of money rightly or wrongly or taking law in their own hands or prefer to suffer than to go to court of law for justice. Sitalvad, M.C. comments, "No true administration can endure without a system of administration of justice of which the poorest are able to take advantage. It would be an exaggeration to ask that the very existence of free Government depends upon making the machinery of justice available to the humblest of its citizen."<sup>1</sup> What Ghosh (1980:6) observes "Today injustice is the rule and

1. Setalvad, M.C., Quoted from Iyer, V.R. Krishna, (1975:107).

justice is exception"<sup>1</sup> because of defective system of judicial administration. There are two type of factors responsible for defective legal system. On one hand, it is inefficiency of laws and on the hand the process of administration of justice is delaying. Iyer (1975:80) concludes the reverse effect of these factors, "inefficient laws is worse than no law because it undermines the faith of the community." He further comments on the process quick justice, "Quick justice is the best justice when complex questions do not arise where the weaker stand to benefit, and where social welfare bodies and labour unions are involved in the legal system."<sup>2</sup>

Dealing with case of dacoity a correct identification of arrested dacoits or looted property becomes a main problem. Most of the witnesses find unable to identify the gangsters. Generally none of the the dacoit of organised gang has been caught with looted property. Law can not punish him without the recovery of looted property. Even victims avoid to recognise the gang members during the identification due to fear. Identification of looted property is another problem for police. According to the facile provision of bail most of the hard pressed criminals including dacoits jump out. Our study findings also support the fact that most of the notorious dacoits absconded on bail. In the light of above problems, there is basic need to change the laws.

1. Ghosh, S.K., 1980: Protection of Minorities and Scheduled Castes, p. 6, Ashish Publishing House, Delhi.
2. Iyer, V.R. Krishna, 1975: op. cit., p. 115.

The delay in legal process is causing much hardship to the common man. Ghosh (1980) finds, "Had there been a good and efficient administration in courts a lot of laws delay, corruption and economic exploitation of justice seekers would have been a thing of past. Lakhs of civil and criminal cases are pending for years in various courts in the country. Rich and powerful parties have succeeded in delaying trials by various means; while small fish get caught the big sharks escape through the meshes."<sup>1</sup> Here, we are concerned with the cases of dacoity. The disposal of dacoity cases yearly in our country presents a sad picture, as given in the table:

TABLE : XXXI

Percentage Disposal of Dacoity Cases by The Courts (1974-78)

S.No.	Trial Process	Yearly Percentage				
		1974	1975	1976	1977	1978
1.	Percentage of Cases Pending.	80.6	81.8	80.8	82.7	80.0
2.	Percentage of Cases in which trials were completed.	19.2	17.8	17.9	16.8	18.6
3.	Percentage of Cases Completed.	37.5	36.1	38.7	48.3	37.2

Source: Crime in India (1974 - 1978).

The in-build injustice in our society forced men to dacoity. They had the desire for revenge against the insults

1. Ghosh, S.K., 1980: op. cit., p. XVII.

done by superior rivals which breaks their patience. The law can not protect them from the cruelties and humiliation committed by stronger rival. They take the law into their own hands because they know there is no other justice. As a counterpoise to his lawlessness, most of the dacoits have accepted that they are the victims of injustice. They could not reconcile the disputes. A slight provocation after violent clashes, injuries and killing plunged them into dacoity. Due to defective judiciary system the real culprits have been acquitted and innocent persons suffered, as Kamble (1982) observes, "The criminal responsible for arson, loot women and soon have all gone unpunished as the culprits have been acquitted by the judiciary."<sup>1</sup>

The nature of society and the legal system to a great extent are related with each other. The police organisation, in a way, represents to the legal system and in the day to day functioning satisfies societal expectations. "In case the legal system due to the conceptual or procedural system is faulty, or the societal expectation or legal structure, a gap will develop and the organisational component is sure to develop distortions. The performance by way of service will suffer and the organisation will not be able to maintain a set of conditions in society as whole and the violator, where can continually and impartially mediate."<sup>2</sup>

The people expect to receive a different type of

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1. Kamble, N.D., 1982: The Schedule Castes, p. 166, Ashish Publishing House, New Delhi.

2. Khan, S.A., 1983: Power, Police and Public, p. 29, Vishal Publications, Kurukshetra.

behaviour from the police rather cherished as the agent of rulers. The bitterness towards police increases the process of dacoitisation as we have analysed in the nature of decoity.

#### POLICE AND PENAL SYSTEM

Every organisation has its quota of bad hats and the police in this country can not be an exception to the general rule. Police organisation is susceptible to public criticism for many reasons. Actually, police is generally criticized for causing undue harassment to the family members and others who may have kinship or close friendship with proclaimed outlaws. In order to get secret informations they are tortured. In Uttar-Pradesh the saying is very popular 'DIN MAIN POLICE, RAT MAIN DAKU SATATE HAIN.'<sup>1</sup> In fact there has not been much of change and the Uttar Pradesh police commission of 1960-61 in its reports observed, "We regret to note that the old crude methods of investigation still continue to persist. Complaints of beating, physical torture, maltreatment and harassment of police officers are not wanting."<sup>2</sup>

The second major reason for police criticism is fake encounters. Malhotra comments the situation, "Some of the most responsible citizen of Uttar Pradesh testify even fake encounters have become money-spinners in more ways than one. Intended victims can buy reprieve by paying the agreed price.

1. Dogra, Bharat: Nav Bharat Times, 23-8-83, New Delhi.

2. Report of U.P. Police Commission, Government of U.P., 1961,

Alternatively, some one desirous of rubbing off an enemy can get the job done by the police at consideration.<sup>1</sup> There is lack of fairness and firmness both, in police officials. They take side of them who pay them well. Besides this our analysis is that police failed to check political interference and pressure also. It is fact that since the legal processes are too long and too tedious, in most of the cases real offender are acquitted from the clutches of law. Sadly enough, it is not even the seasoned dacoits who are killed most of the time.

Like police the penal system also has also its own criminal fallout. It is very clear that a reverse effect of imprisonment goes on the offenders which is called prisonisation. How does the culture of prison community impinges on the individual offender who is subjected to it, is the key issue in the reformation of criminals. Generally, it is seen that in place of reformation most of the neophyte dacoits become hardened criminals who after getting bail jump into ravine and join the parent gangs.

Thus, the roots of dacoity in modern times may be seen in the wide spread inequality and injustice that characterising the structure of rural society and the resultant feuds and conflicts over property and power. Increasing population, the lack of job opportunities, social and economic backwardness and poverty force a large number of persons to opt for dacoity.

There are number of socio-economic factors contributing to the persistence of dacoity in these regions.

1. Malhotra, I. "Brutalities By The Police", *Time of India*,

Daily, July 22, 1983, New Delhi.

### CONTROL TO DACOITY

The institution of dacoity as we have discussed in the preceding chapters, is to a large extent an outward manifestation of the tensions generated within the social system. Although social institutions like family, school, religion and social values impose various forms of moral and cultural restraint over the people, still some persons become outlaws, because they become accustomed to illegal behaviour. The initial resistance once broken, they resort to anti social behaviour with lesser resistance and little feeling of guilt. "They can always find some justification for their anti social behaviour and then can find rationale for their law violations - law violations becomes an accepted mode of living."<sup>1</sup>

Cohen (1970) explains the control theories of deviant motivation, "A control conception of human motivation is built around two sets of variables. On the one hand is the impulse side; a hostile, destructive, aggressive, acquisitive, or otherwise anti social impulse, on the other is the control side: something inside the actor or in the situation of action that denies or forbids the expression of the impulse. The outcome depends on the relative strength of these two contenders, if the impulse is stronger, the outcome is deviance."<sup>2</sup> Here, we are dealing two sided control theory to dacoity. The actual

1. Goyal, C.P., 1975: Crime, Correction And Probation, Seminar Report, p. 29, Agra Social Institute, Agra.

2. Cohen, A.K., 1970: Deviance and Social Control, p. 48, Prentice Hall of India, Private Limited New Delhi.

control of structural factors, that affect the incidence of dacoity, have so far been limited to organised resistance offered by society via the agencies of state forces or via the media of voluntary organisation. Besides it, the manifest control structure itself become a major locus of deviance. The society places in the hands of police, judges, staffs of correctional institutions and others, great responsibilities and also great power. Whatever "processes are at work producing deviance in the general population are also at work among the occupants of these roles, among whom deviance may take the form of negligence, favouritism, cruelty, corruption."<sup>1</sup>

In this situation we are confronted with the problem of the social control of the agencies of control. As Cohen(1970) comments, "Quis custodiet ipsos custodes", who will guard the guardians?<sup>2</sup> In fact, this is the reason that there have been successes as there have been failures in eradication of dacoity.

The lack of effective social control grants dacoity a vigorous continuity. The police and armed forces have been used persistently and from time to time a large number of dacoits have been killed, arrested or made to surrender. And yet, because of its social sanction the system survives, following the failure of violent methods to eradicate dacoity a moral campaign against the system has been launched. We have been using the expression 'social control' to refer to social processes and structures

1. Cohen, A.K., 1970: op. cit., p. 40.

2. Ibid. p. 40.

tending to prevent or reduce the menace of dacoity through many ways which may be classified in two broad categories - Latent control structure and Manifest control structure.

#### LATENT CONTROL STRUCTURE

The means of social control have either changed their form to meet the changing needs or have vanished into the oblivion of history. The way in which opportunities for employment are distributed, the content of mass media, education, development of road and transport facilities may have the important consequences for actual eradication of any menace but there is no social awareness of the development of these means and no conscious manipulation of them.

As pointed out earlier, the dacoits infested areas are lack in transport and communication facilities due to peculiar topography and social backwardness. By evoking a new social awareness with new values and norms the people of the area who seldom think of dacoity to be an antisocial act, will thus be made them to realize that dacoity is an evil and it should be perish for ever. The communication has much to play in bringing about this change.<sup>1</sup>

In an integrated area development approach the needs of social infrastructure like education, irrigation roads, electrification of villages must be examined along with usual economic sectors. The present inequality in rural areas stems

1. Singh, R.G. 1978: The Problem of Communication In The Eradication of Dacoity in Chambal Valley. Indian Journal of Criminology, p.19, vol.6 No.1, Jan

in the large part from the fact that small farmers have no means of agriculture facilities.

Ravine's perse constitute the gravest threat to the development of these regions. Compared to ravines elsewhere, those in Agra and Etawah districts particularly on Chambal and Yamuna are very deep. Due to heavy pressure on land and reckless tilling without giving adequate resistance to the abrasive action of water the spread of ravines has been spectacular.

The Government of India set up a study team on ravine reclamation to draw a "7 years Plan for ravine reclamation for the dacoity infested areas of Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan and also a five year plan both starting from 1972 -73." But the seriousness of the problem caused by ravines is not being fully realised. Long before Dr. Rajendra Prasad rightly suggested, "It is the time we approached it in a constructive way so that we may have the double benefit of reclaiming some men and reclaiming a vast area of land."<sup>1</sup>

To check the problem of ravines the land has to be properly levelled, fields preferably laid out in proper sizes, water courses and field channels constructed to carry water to individual field. Un controlled grazing and cutting forest has made the problem of soil erosion sharp. Rapid plantation is the easiest available remedy to check soil erosion.

To reduce the pressure on land and agriculture the development of agro industry is another such subject which is

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1. Composite Plan For The Development of Chambal Valley, Unpublished Report, 1981-82, p. 21, Gwalior.

important in order to improve the economy of the area. Rural residents may be made eligible for better incentives with facilities for vocational training. The development of dairying, carpentry, leather industry and animal husbandry may give supplementary income to small and marginal farmer. Besides, it, to avoid land disputes the improvement of land records and strengthen of revenue administration must be corrected. Unless correct measures are taken immediately, the tempo of development will lost.

We have till now discussed only the infrastructure, to maximise the benefit of these investments complementary and closely coordinated efforts are needed to change the social infrastructure also. To teach the ethics of a new social order and to dislodge outmoded ways of thought a rationale outlook must be educate. Dignity of labour has to be respected by all. The prevalent attitude towards atrocities on Harijans should be changed. There is a crying need for remoulding the psychology of the people in order that law and order may be sustained by the cooperation of people.

All aspects of society are functionally interrelated for this reason we must examine the educational system as an aspect of the total society in the light of the over all process of cultural change. It is an old saying that where reason ends and logic fails, belief begins. The old belief based on caste, superstitions and inequality should be removed by social education. Before considering education as an agency of social change, we should review of the prevalent expectations of

education. In these regions this is expected to prepare youth for vocations. To combat the problem of dacoity, the area should throw up a differently motivated leadership, which should be nurtured and encouraged. We may think of these aspects of society as the latent control structure always capable, however, of being incorporated into the manifest control structure.

#### MANIFEST CONTROL STRUCTURE

Manifest control structure may include prevention, detection, taking into custody, determination of guilt, diagnosis, and evaluation, treatment, punishment, restitution and so on. Such more or less functionally specific control agents and agencies, are police, courts, correctional institution, inspectors, auditors, now and then deams of men and certain social agencies and youth serving organisations. Manifest control structure takes two forms: (i) Non violent Control and (ii) Violent Control.

#### NON VIOLENT CONTROL

Non violent control to dacoity is a process of dedacoitisation based on some etiological concepts of religion. Much of our culture is a product of our belief in non violence and practice of the principle of non violence. Non violence occupies a central theme in the teachings of Indian philosophy. Here, in the field of penology, non violence constitutes an alternative approach to the question of dealing with crime. Its basic proposition is, "violence is not a solution of itself."

The non violent approach to crime rejects the age old deterrent and retributive theories. The philosophical basis of

non violentic experiment in the field of dacoity is explained by Sri J.P. Narayan that "I would say the philosophic basis is the same as that of Bhoodan, Gramdan and Gandhiji's idea of trusteeship - the idea that the human heart can be changed if a proper approach is made, that no body is irremediable and that the dacoits of Chambalghati are no exception."<sup>1</sup>

Gandhiji and their followers like Vinoba Bhave, Jay Prakash Narayan, Dada Dharmadhikari took a sympathetic attitude towards criminals. Their ideas are based on the philosophy of non violence that "evil, and not evil doer, should be eliminated. Off what use is a therapy if the patients die of their use?". In short, non violent control prescribes a change of heart in the evil doer. Although the non violent conversion of criminals is not a frequent phenomenon, it is not altogether unknown. Valmiki and Angulimal, the notorious dacoits were converted to goodness.

In the present age there is a series of mass surrender of dacoits based on the philosophy of non violence.

The Surrender of 1947:- Before independence the notorious bandit chief Devi Singh of Bundelkhand surrendered with Moorat Singh, Pooran and some others, in 1947. Those were subjected to heavy harassment by police. So, they managed to escape with his men from the jail in 1948, and terrorised the whole of the area for nearly a quarter of a century.

The Surrender of 1960:- In 1960, Vinoba Bhave, visited the Chambal area and appealed to the dacoits to transform themselves peaceful

1. Minoo Masani: The Interview with Sri Jai Prakash Narayan,  
Illustrated Weekly of India, 11 June, 1972.

citizens. Some twentyone dacoits, mostly remnants of Man Singh-Roopa gang, surrendered to him.

Surrender of 1965:- This surrender of 43 wanted vicious dacoits belonging to the community of ex-criminal tribe Kabutra-Nats, took place in January 1965. This was unconditional surrender of those notorious dacoits before police. They were awarded different terms of imprisonment.

Surrender of 1972:- The surrender of 1972 was the first truly revolutionary step to control the ancient menace. The favourable attitude of the Government facilitated the process of mass surrender of dacoits in Madhya Pradesh. As a result 503 dacoits - 393 from Chambal and 110 from Bundelkhand surrendered.

Surrender of 1976:- After the surrender of 1972 on the call of Sri J. Prakash, the dacoits of Uttar Pradesh also influenced by this great leader. Some 83 dacoits surrendered at Bateshwar and Agra in 1976. They were kept in Bagi Sudhar Grah, Fatehgarh.

Excluding these surrender of dacoits, there were many dacoits who surrendered in Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh. In fact, mass surrender opened a new horizon in the field criminology. But the experiment is still bearing the stress and strain of conflicting ideas; consequently its role as viable alternative has not yet been resolved.

Justification for Surrender:- Adopting a liberal moral approach towards the criminals, the protagonists of the surrender held that if a society failed to check the conditions which fostered deviance, it could atleast give the reformed deviants a chance to rehabilitate themselves. Besides it, the surrender of these dacoits might be justified from many point of views.

- (1) Their surrender has restored peace which could have not been achieved otherwise.
- (2) The cost and price of eliminating one dacoit was an enormous drain on state exchequer.
- (3) Those who had surrendered in 1960 had not reverted to type after their release. They had forfeited violence for a settle life.
- (4) The favourable results of surrender facilitated the process of surrender in other states also.
- (5) The mass surrender of dacoits created a vaccum for miscreants in search of shelter, and this considerably helped the police in hounding out and eliminating the fugitives.

Moreover, it is an effective check on fresh influxes. Thus, moral pursuasion exercises the endless cycle of feud, death and vendetta and prevents the inflow of more dacoits.

The Spirit of Change of Heart: A Critical Appraisal:- Actually, the mass surrender of dacoits started when Vinoba started his 'Change of Heart' mission on May 8, 1960 with some sarvodaya disciples who made an appeal to all the dacoits to surrender themselves so that their moral and material rehabilitation could be achieved.<sup>1</sup> The spirit of his campaign was that only those who were genuinely repentant should come forward to surrender. The philosophy of surrender could not satisfy both the Government and the dacoits. The mission could not win favour of all sections of society on the many points. Unfortunately, Vinoba glorified the dacoits by regarding them as noble citizen. While the then

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1. Katara, S.S. 1972: op. cit., p. 183.

chief minister Dr. Kataju concluded the reality in these words, "It is desirable that the offenders should not be glorified. They should be made to realise that they have committed serious crimes."<sup>1</sup> The mission bewildered the Government and the police by saying, "The police should stay at their posts and should keep the door open for the dacoits who wished to surrender to him."<sup>2</sup>

Thus, the law of surrender was contrary to the law of land objectives of Sarvodaya mission not only set back the police morale but created a dilemma. K.P. Rustam jee (the then I.G. Police, M.P.) argued, "It took years for the police and the people of these districts to run the battle in their favours, and when we were nearing the end we were told that the courage and sacrifice of all had been in vain, that the police officials who had shed their blood for defending others had used a rifle and had thereby created dacoits, and that the dacoit sincerely felt that they had been oppressed by police."<sup>3</sup>

Still, almost all dacoits completed their terms of imprisonment, who had surrendered in 1980. But the process and the spirit of later phenomenal surrender failed to gain its objectives. Surrender has lost its meaning and significance. It lacks spiritual content and is no more a subject of moral binding. The recent surrender of Malkhan Singh (17.6.82), Phoolan Devi Ghan Shyam (12.283) and others in M.P. give one the feeling that a criminal who can achieve new heights in brutality develops a

1. Katare, S.S. 1972: op. cit., p. 184.

2. Ibid. p. 185.

3. Singh, R.G., 1980: op. cit., p. 113.

capacity to rise above the law of the land. There are a number of questions that remain unanswered. The discussion is largely based on the views of Singhal (1982):

- (1) What happens to the weapons that are not surrendered and the booty looted by these dacoits.
- (2) Why are all the dacoits not covered and why do we get satisfied by the surrenders of only a few. After all if change of heart were to take place it would take place in all regions.
- (3) What is the future of the cases in which these dacoits are wanted ? How many were prosecuted and how many of them were finally convicted?
- (4) The dacoits should not be glorified because their surrender have been caused because of police pressure and not because of any genuine change of heart.
- (5) Does the law not loose respect in these cases? Will not such surrender encourage more lawlessness in the long run?
- (6) What mockery is made of the cardinal principle of law - viz - equality before the law?

Thus, the principle of non violence in the prevention of crime should, therefore, be practised with great caution. Laxity would breed lawlessness and anarchy in society.

#### VIOLENT CONTROL

Violent control, as the term suggests, implies harsh aggression; the use of force or threat or terror through a visible display of strength. Not with standing the continuance of dacoity, a heavy force has always been used to control the menace

of dacoity, robbery, thuggee and other crimes. Over the last two centuries Pindaries and Thugs and other notorious outlaws have been successfully eliminated. In spite of all such concerted coercive measures it has so far been failed to eradicate dacoity completely as the given table shows:

TABLE XXXII  
Police Achievement (1972-1981)

S.No.	Years	No.of En-Counters	Dacoits Killed	Dacoits Arrested	No. of Firearms Recovered
1.	1972	339	71	1662	961
2.	1973	409	73	1713	1097
3.	1974	867	145	3839	2413
4.	1975	1195	243	4813	3111
5.	1976	1793	512	6771	4300
6.	1977	1325	204	5186	3577
7.	1978	1956	359	7616	4777
8.	1979	2792	596	10225	6327
9.	1980	3386	983	10429	7762
10.	1981	3397	1391	9447	7230

Source: Police Head Quarters, Uttar Pradesh, Lucknow.

Here, a question that deserves our attention why a number of dacoits are arrested and killed every year. One may rather look upon the problem from many view points. Some of them are;

(1) Physiographic conditions, such as difficult terrains, dense forests, inaccessible mountains and overlapping state boundaries

that provide good hideouts and channels of easy escape for the fugitives partly account for the persistence of dacoity.

- (2) Police does not succeed in arresting or eliminating the entire gang in one sweep. This naturally means that in some of the best of the encounters only a part of the gang shall be accounted for and most of them would manage to escape.
- (3) Sometimes total members of a gang do not surrender due to their vested interest. The remaining members organise their own gangs during the course of time.
- (4) The institutional nature of the problem support that system commands from society, is also partly responsible for the persistence of the problem.
- (5) A gang comprises of a large network of infarmers, suppliers, protectors and vested interest groups. Its men have infiltrated politics, the police force, administration and Govt.
- (6) Deficiency in the application of the control itself in the fountain head of many problems.

If the morale of a force implementing punitive measures is low, there is every possibility of broken loyalty, diminished confidence and failure. Imbalance between the responsibility and power of the law enforcing agency is one of the major problem. To minimise the pressure of force a gang always works to break the loyalty of the a policemen.

It is almost a well established practice among the police officials to accept bribes and presents offered by harbouer. There may be inconsistency in the application of coercion, the right use of coercion would be to punish the guilty

and reward the deserving. More generally, as reported in many cases real culprits are spared and honest people made to suffer. In such cases, it fails to check people and acts, on the contrary as a spring-board to dacoity. In spite of above deficiency the achievement of police could not be neglected. The encounters between police and dacoits increased many times during the last decades. Physical coercion succeeded in eliminating a number of powerful gangs of dacoits, as shown in the given table:

TABLE : XXXIII

Police Encounters With Listed Gangs in U.P.(1978-82)

S.No.	Year	Total Gangs	No. of En-counters.	Dacoits	Gang Eliminated	
				Killed Arrested	Surr. Sur. Arre. Kill.	
1.	1978	32	27	34 160 42	- - -	6
2.	1979	32	21	28 19 -	- - -	8
3.	1980	40	97	66 46 11	- - -	4
4.	1981	56	153	159 98 -	- 2	9
5+	1982	85	97	114 129 61	4 4	9
<b>Total</b>		<b>245</b>	<b>395</b>	<b>401</b> <b>427</b> <b>114</b>	<b>4</b> <b>6</b> <b>36</b>	

Source: Anti Dacoity Cell, Uttar Pradesh, Agra.

During the last few years, the population and crime rose steeply, but the strength of the police functionaries remain at static rate. The role of police and state armed forces is of immense importance in the maintenance of law and order in general, and in the eradication of dacoity in particular. In fact, there is greater need than ever before of social service agencies in these regions to work alongside the police to redress the injustices suffered by people, eradicate their ignorance and social backwardness.

## CHAPTER I VIII

### **CONCLUSION**

## CONCLUSION

The institution of dacoity has been rooted in the socio-cultural matrix of the society. Socio-historical forces paved the way for the emergence of the institution. The historical mix has given a peculiar 'Robinhood' prestige to dacoity and it is in this tradition that dacoits are not stigmatised in their communities. The long spell of feudal rule in these regions has also contributed to strengthening of the institution of dacoity. Before independence the concern of banditry was nothing more and nothing less than a hallmark of rebellion against the established regime. The problem defied even such drastic measures as were possible under the old regime mainly because of it was vested interest of the power structure itself.

In the long historical process of development, from its early role as a catalyst of liberation from foreign rule, dacoity has established itself a socially recognised activity. Now, the problem could not eradicate by guns or mortars of violent police because it has become an integral part of socio-economic life of the people in these regions.

In recent past far reaching changes occurred in the social structure of Indian society. These changes threatened to destroy the entire feudal network and the feudal elements reverted to their life of predacious violence for status, economic gain and power. Besides it, it is the institutional network of rural society in these dacoits infested regions that lead people to split into factions and break into conflicts and rivalries. Above all, the most prominent feature of these regions

is the existence of sprawling ravines which makes excellent hideouts for fugitives of law and permit longer life span to dacoits.

The area lies on the zigzag serpentine border of Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan and provide an easy refuge to criminals who commit crime and then skip over the border to another state. In recent times, Doab districts turned out the largest supply of dacoits. It was not accidental, certain special characteristics which prevail in the region of Doab, can be regarded as the contributory cause of this malice. The important features are: (i) highest density of population; (ii) less percentage of working population; (iii) least number of worker in registered factory; (iv) least member of females per thousand males; (v) very few villages are linked with puccaroad, bus stops and railway stations and other social amenities.

A long strip of jagged ravines cover a large area in both the regions. Between Ganga and Yamuna and its tributaries. A vast sheet of land of Etawah district is full of forest and ravines of Yamuna and Doab. Likewise a good acreage of Kanpur, Farrukhabad districts comes under flood and become water logged in rainy season, while the belt between Etah, Etawah and Mainpuri is flat, dusty and barren. The soils are poor and eroded and the climate is semi-arid. The districts of Doab region have the largest percentage of small holdings. Heavy population density continuous fragmentation of holdings, has exercised a constant economic pressure. The entire economy of these regions is solely dependent on agriculture. There is no alternative means of sust-

nance for staggering population. A high percentage of non-workers is either due to shortage of agricultural-land or due to alternative means of sustenance. The percentage of working population is also low in Doab region in comparison of the State in general and the Bundelkhand region in particular.

To understand the nature of the system, we have concentrated on three aspects of the problem - the process of dacoitisation, gang organisation and harbouring. Some 93 percent dacoits came from rural areas. Adverse economic conditions, however, had not been found to provide an adequate ground for people except a few lower castes men who directly join the profession. Approximately twenty one percentage dacoits (20.98%) had been brought into the system after committing murders, due to land disputes, party politics, caste rivalry, close relationship with dacoits as well as ill - socialization; 11.60 percent dacoits lured into the system by system itself while 15.16 percent were drifted due to oppressive attitude of stronger elements like police and other opposite parties. Some 20.53 percent dacoits belong to higher caste like Brahman, and Rajput. Majority of dacoits came from middle castes. The Jatavas do not lag behind who alongwith other lower castes dacoits came into the system for property and oppressives by the higher castes people.

Infact, the backward castes are struggling hard for supremacy, power and prestige over the other castes. The new economic changes, benefited them more. These castes taught against inequality, destitution and social injustice. In Doab area there is a triangular fight between higher castes, middle

castes and to some extent lower castes like Chamars or Jatavas.

A potential number of dacoits underwent a period of intense mental agitation before joining a gang. Most of the dacoits justified that there was no other option left for him except to become baghi (Rebel). Force of circumstances compelled them to become dacoits. After committing heinous crime they could not return back to their communities. Besides it, there is no justice with poor or helpless persons.

As we have analysed people turned into dacoits from different motives - caste rivalry, family enmity and vendetta are the most powerful motivations that forced a man into this profession.

Gangs are organised on permanent and temporary basis in these areas, which operate from inter-districts to inter-state areas also. The chieftain occupies the highest position in the gang. He rules the gang like an autocrat. Major gangs were composed of two or three divisions. Exceptionally co-leadership is also seen in such gangs. Major responsibilities are held by gang leaders. Some core members may assist the chieftain in some matters related to raid, kidnapping or operational strategy.

The code of conduct and unquestioned fidelity are maintained for security of the organisation of gangs. An unwritten code of conduct is practised in distribution of booty, loyalty to gang's secret, while there is no rigidity to sex morality.

Recruitment into a gang is based on the criminal back-

ground of a recruit, his family background, his relations, the weapon he possesses, the motives actuating him to seek admission, security he furnishes and above all his future loyalty to the gang. Some sort of security was demanded especially when chieftain was not certain of the neophyte's bona fides. Above all a hard and well built physique, smartness, youthfulness are essential to a man seeking admission into a gang. It was found that a majority of the dacoits (48.21%) entered the profession when they were between 20 to 30 years. Most of the dacoits came through some mediators.

The process of conditioning a neophyte to adopt the life of a dacoit starts by the gang itself. Gangmen mitigate the pains of his deprivations of liberty, security and possession of property. The neophyte in small gangs learns more through experiences than any planned training about the use of arms and strategies of brigandage. Moreover, living with others in the gang he assimilates criminal values and norms. A gang's survival, as its strength, depends mainly on the unity and loyalty of its members. Besides it, gang chieftain's personality, gang intelligence and the quality of arms and ammunitions are also accounted to the long span of a gang.

The reasons for split into a gang are unfair distribution of looted booty, uncompromising nature of chief, death of a gang leader and dispute on female dacoits. The intra-gang and intergang relations are governed by informal dacoity norms, violation of such norms are strictly dealt with punishment. Duplicity and walsning on dues owed to a gang is not condoned. An

unwritten code among dacoits bars the entry of such welschers into any gang. One gang avoids to interfere with other ones. Still inter-gang conflicts are frequently seen.

Generally, two types of gang operations were observed during the present study - planned and ambush. There is marked shift in strategy adopted by the present dacoit gangs. They are now concentrating on kidnappings and are also utilising the small local gangs, ranging the strength between 10-15 members. Night hours and medium sized of gang are found most favourable for the excursions. Motives behind the commission of dacoities are to gain money and arms, or revenge and enmity.

Without the active help and shelter no gang can survive for long. A gang has to fall back on harbourers for supply of arms and ammunitions, essential articles and informations regarding movements of police and police informers, informations about wealthy persons and their properties etc. Harbourers function under the guise of a law abiding citizen. The harbourers vary from influencial rich persons to a poor man. It is evident that caste and political protection is awarded frequently. Besides is, unscrupulous police and military personnel sell arms and ammunitions to them. Some sort of parliamentary body ought to be made a watch dog which could demand from arms forces the tracing of full movements of weapons that are recovered from dacoits in order to check an illicit traffic in arms. The problem of countrymade weapons, manufacturing is the another source of arms. It can be controlled if we can control the supply of ammunitions.

The main points of difference in the pattern of dacoity

in Doab and Bundelkhand regions are as enumerated below:

- (1) The statistics of mass murders, dacoity and other heinous crimes are high in Doab in comparison of Bundelkhand.
- (2) Dacoity has been more organised with its developed organs and specific pattern in Doab regions.
- (3) Dacoit gangs of Bundelkhand are poorly armed. The recovered arms after encounters show that the dacoits of Doab are capable to secure better arms in comparison to other areas of Bundelkhand.
- (4) Dacoity has been more savage and ruthless in Doab districts.
- (5) The distribution of looted booty is mainly in the Doab region based on the quality of arms possessed by a dacoit while on the other hand in Bundelkhand each dacoit is treated on an equal footing with others in the matter of profit distribution.

Although, dacoity is a product of multiplicity of factors including psychological, economic and political, it is by nature, origin and continuance largely sociological concern. People as we discussed in the chapter 'Nature of Dacoity', resort to violence and murder and abscond in the ravines, caught in a mesh of conflicting emotions, yet feelings, attitude or emotional instability are not the sole reasons for the origin and perpetuation of dacoity as social system. It is the institutional network of society at different levels that lead people to split into factions and break into conflicts and rivalries. Within the same social setup the system of dacoity welcomes and shelters such fugitives and maintains itself.

It is fact that the bane of dacoity is primarily a social problem which has its historical origin. Along with it, it is undeniable that physiographic conditions provide a sound base for its perennial growth. The inaccessible ridges of Vindhyananchal, the dense forest of Bundelkhand and the deep ravine of Chambal provide the ecological cover for banditry since centuries in the Central India. Climate, soil and other topographical peculiarities do not account for the hot tempered aggressiveness of its people, but generate a different type of eco-system which affects the human behaviour, economy and above all way of life. Thus we find that the it is the structural reasons which has largely enabled dacoity to take roots in these areas.

There are three broad bases of dacoity which largely account for its origin, growth and sustenance in the present context. As regards the ecological base, we can say that physiographic conditions of these regions are such that they not only provide the best hideouts and shelters for the fugitives of law but affect the economy of the area negatively.

Major effects of the bad land topography which promote dacoity in these areas are following -

- (1) Ravines - provide shelter for fugitives of law.
- (2) Continuous loss of agricultural land to ravines and Usar Land/ Uncultivable land indicates the unbearable blow to the native population responsible for ill-developed economy.
- (3) In the development of roads and other means of other communications and transport. Bad topographical features

are main obstacles and hinderance. Inadequacy of road network has retarded the development of area.

Besides it, the ruinous ravines of these regions have already taken a heavy toll of fertile land. On a conservative estimate the country is losing a total output of scores of rupees per year by failure to productive utilisation of ravines. Total 12.30 lac million hectare land in Uttar Pradesh is in the grip of ravines.

As pointed out earlier, very few villages are linked with pucca roads, bus stops and railway stations which also affects the rural - urban interaction while adequate transport and means of communication are pre-requisite for the success of industrial as well as social and national development.

Discrete cases of dacoity have been found in all ages of human life. It has existed in some form or other in all parts of the world. But dacoity in India has assumed the characteristics of an institution during pre-muslim rule. The whole region of Doab had been marked by political instability and clan violence since ancient time. Many Rajputs clans dethroned each other and took refuge in Doab and Chambal basin from where they made ceaseless efforts to get their power, but with no avail. After the defeat of Prithviraj Chauhan, Delhi fell into the hands of Muslims who also thwarted the rebel Rajputs towards these areas. Most of them took sanctuary in the ravines of Yamuna, Chambal and its tributaries.

In course of time they established their dynasties

in Etawah, Agra, Gwalior and Dholpur. The entire Chambal and Doab area is marked the concentration of Rajputs, Brahmin, Yadavas and others aborigines who settled a long ago. These martial communities wanted to extend their sovereignty over Delhi, Doab and Chambal in Central India. The peculiar geographical features made them experts at guerilla warfare.

How a course of action changes, it depends on the conditions of the age. After the advent of muslim rule, these aggressive Rajputs showed scant respect for any ruler. With the spirit of revolt they again and again rebelled against the Mohammaden, Marathas and Britishers. During Muslim rule on the name of cultural superiority Hindu society supported their rebellious attitudes. Thus, these predatory Rajputs clans never allowed the Muslims to rule peacefully.

The rising power of the rebels infuriated Aurangzeb who tried hard to suppress the rebels in Central India and also responsible for creating the problem of Pindaries in Dacca. The history of long and insistent fight for power during muslim period and later on made by the dispossessed Rajputs and Bundelas steadily developed the value of intolerance and rebelliousness among the people of these areas. The second thing is that there was no alternative means of livelihood to the erstwhile Rajput rulers except to rebel and rely on arms. During the period of British rule, the land settlement Act made by Government deprived landlords and old Zamindars from their possessions and they retaliated by resorting to violence and depardations in the name of rebels. Feudal habits of spending lavishly, combined

with economic misfortunes has left no alternative to these impoverished landlords. The economic hardships added fuel to the fire. Thuggee was in extreme from Pindari made their fortunes by looting and plundering of scores of villages, towns and cities. The bad characters joined the gangs of these outlaws. With the down fall of Mughals and incoming of Britishers their demand fell considerably. Pindaries and thugs got protection of land lords and Zamindars.

In the later part of British rule, the land revenue settlement acts were made and the landlords were dispossessed off from their land due to nonpayment of taxes. This resulted in the sudden spurt in various kind of crimes.

Later on the whole area of Bundelkhand and Doab was marked by anarchy prevailed during the period of mutiny which also supported the deviant activities. It is found that whose means of livelihood were few, or were threatened by some changes, they resorted to violence. During British rule petty states were confiscated due to non-payment of taxes or rebellion activities of landlords which also support the system.

After Independence many far reaching changes occurred in the social structure. Abolition of Zamindari and adoption of constitution in 1950 dealt a staggering blow to the supremacy of the higher castes by shaking the feudal system to its very foundations. These radical changes in the socio-economic structures also generated violence. Rajputs and Brahmins as well as Yadavas are well willing to help the decoits from law, if only to use that lever of terror for enhancing their diminished fortunes and strengthening their interests.

As we have analysed that dacoity has its origin historical, societal factors play a determining role in the existence of dacoity system. Unless there is justification for the act in society, such a widespread menace could hardly prevail in society. Our sociological analysis reveals that there are many contributing social factors for the existence of the problems.

Fundamentally dacoity is an agrarian problem where growing family tension and population pressure, lack of adequate employment, debts, caste politics and factionalism are the push factors.

Generally, it is seen that criminality in family leads a man to dacoity and other types of deviant activities. Some prominent dacoits belonged to the families in which criminal activities were committed already. In the same day kinship system produces the chances to get associates with criminals, easily.

Caste sub-culture has direct relevance with dacoity. Violent norms, pattern of socialisation and reaction against the loss of powers and economic interests of some higher castes are the major determinants for generating dacoity in upper caste like Rajputs. While economic uplift in middle caste like Yadavas and scheduled caste Jatavas - are the ones who resort to violence to get what they want - status, power and an outlet for their revancheful attitude. Structural inequality did not allow them to fulfil their above ambitions.

Our analysis also shows that the cultural factors are

very important in producing a typed violence. Cross cultural studies have revealed that every culture has a personality. Caste sub-culture directs and gratifies individual needs very differently in these areas. This is due to the fact that every caste culture emphasises its peculiar values and thereby not affects the emotions, perceptions, feelings and thoughts of the individual but also characterises a different way of life. Cultural pressures are among the dominant factors that influence the sense of guilt, emotions and hostility connected with the long history of rebellion and lawlessness has also affected the cultural pattern of social life in these regions, especially so in the case of Rajputs.

Violence and aggressive value if not in general at-least in some caste like Thakurs, and Gurjars had long been exercised and justified as a natural means of subinance. Moreover, members of such castes are socialised under martial and feudal values which encourages in them positive attitude towards violence to resolve their feuds, disputes and problems in life.

Value systems and social cohesion, however are collapsing in increasingly wide areas of these regions. Since the process is going to accelerate, most of the rural youths finds themselves in such environment which is conducive to crime. The ill-socialisation of youth had led to antisocial activities and gangsterism. Moreover the frayed tempered people of these regions do not believe in going to court when a gun can decide dispute more quickly and easily. The values related to the superiority of caste, lure for arms, revengeful feelings and other feudalistic values forms a part of the social norms in

these very regions. The new values failed to take root. People teetered between two sets of values - old and the new. An acute state of anomie held by society in its grip and more desperate among them took the law into their own hands.

In the peculiar social set up the economic factors can not be lost sight of. A number of dacoits were drawn to this profession because of poverty and unemployment, land and property disputes were not only confined to the high economic level group but middle and lower class also. Increasing land disputes, rising price of land and no other alternative of sustenance make the problem worse. Social exploitation breeds not only the economic exploitation but also the political exploitation.

Another paradox in these dacoity infested regions is that there is at same time a shortage of service and large scale of employment. This problem, which has been with these areas for many decades has now become particularly acute in these years, because of the unprecedented increase in the population. We have already discussed that there are very few village industries. Agriculture is main stay of rural areas, there is hardly any scope of socio-economic mobility. Insufficient holdings and growing pressures on land being so tight that land disputes and rivalries often push a villager to be revengeful.

Political rivalries has polluted the rural environment to a great extent. Rivalries have been created by elections devide the whole village into many hostile campus. In number of cases, dacoits even took active part in influencing people to vote in favour of a particular member, who in return extend

his office to protect him. The principle of political equality stands in direct contradiction to the hierarchical order of caste relation and power structure of traditional village community. This resulted into the conflicts which were resolved even by dacoits.

Above all, the legal system in India failed miserably in dealing with the burning problem of dacoity. The inbuild injustice in our society forced men to dacoity. Defective and corrupt judiciary, undermined the faith of community. The functionaries of police system add fuel to the fire. Undue harassment, fake encounters and biasful working of police cause a grave injustice with a simple offender. Facile act of bail system, the problem of identification and other legal problems which have been a part of the development, have ironically their own criminal fall out.

Adopting a liberal moral approach towards the criminals, the protagonists of surrenders held that if a society failed to check the conditions in time which foster deviance, it could atleast give the reformed deviants a chance to rehabilitate them. But the recent developments in experimental nonviolence shows that unless the structural and moral framework of society undergoes a radical change, surrender or any such innovation will not bear any fruit. The economic and social development potential of any area depends on the available infrastructure, facilities like vocational training schools, markets, cooperations, post offices, fertilizer stores, health centres, family planning centres and police stations must be extended to remote villages.

Thus, there are a number of socio-economic forces contributing to the persistence of the system. Which have been originated from structural disturbances arising out of the failure of rigid and non-adaptive traditional system.

APPENDIX I  
INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Nature And Bases of Dacoity Systems With Special  
Reference To Dacoits Infested Regions of U.P.

Note:- All the informations relating to this interview schedule will be kept confidential and will be used only for research work.

Date of Interview ..... Place .....

I. Personal Identification:

- (1) Name ..... (Section.....)  
(2) Age..... Years.  
(3) Education: Illiterate/Primary/J.H.School/High School/  
Intermediate and Above.  
(4) Profession.....  
(5) Caste .....  
(6) Religion.....  
(7) Marital Status: Married/Unmarried/Deserted/Widower.  
(8) Address:.....

II. Family Background:

- (1) Nature of Family: Nuclear/Joint.  
(2) Details of family members: Female..... Male .... Children...  
(3) Main Occupation of family:  
(4) Monthly Income of Family :  
(5) Sources of Family Income: Agriculture ( )  
Business ( )  
Service ( )  
Other Source.....

## (6) Details of Family Property:

Land ..... Bighas/Acres.

House..... Katcha..... Pusca...

## (7) The Economic Problems of Family:

(i) Debts etc..... Amount..... Source....

(ii) Other Problems Faced in the maintenance of family:

(8) How you led your Family Life: Happy/Sad

Satisfactory/Troublesome.

(9) Have anybody committed any crime in your family? : Yes/No.

(10) If, Yes, give details :

III. Predacoity History of Crimes:

(1) Have you committed any crime before dacoity: Yes/No.

(2) If, Yes, give details:

S.No.	Crime	Age	Notified by Police Conviction
1.			
2.			

IV. Details of Dacoity Life:

(1) State of your age of entering into dacoity : .....Years.

(2) Did you thought to enter dacoity ever: Yes/No.

(3) How did the idea come in your mind to be a dacoit?

(4) What was the main cause to join dacoity?

(5) How did you take a decision to join a gang?

(6) After decision, how you made contact with a dacoit gang?

(iii)

- (7) What were the conditions for admission into the gang?
- (8) How you felt in your task: Happy/SORROW.
- (9) If you felt sorrow how did you over come it?
- (10) How do you rationalize with this profession?
- (11) Do you feel that you have done a blunder to join the gang?
- (12) How far your aspirations satisfied from it?
- (13) How many years have you passed in dacoity? : .....Years.
- (14) How many crimes you had committed?  
 Decoities..... Murders....  
 Kidnapping .....
- (15) Was there any price staked on your head? .....Rs.....
- (16) What status was assigned to you in the gang?  
 Worker      ( )      Member      ( )  
 Sub Chieftain( )      Chieftain      ( )
- V. General Informations:-
- (1) State your annual Income from dacoity: Rs.....
- (2) How did you fulfil your daily needs?
- (3) How did you satisfy your sex desire?
- (4) What is your daily routine normally?
- (5) Have you any hobby or habit?

(iv)

(6) Was there any restriction on drinking and Gambling?

(7) What measures have been taken for safety in dacoity life?

(8) What precautions you took for it?

(9) Did you believe in any super natural power/elements?

Yes/No.

(10) If yes, state the name of that power:

(11) What step you took to please super natural elements?

(12) Would you like to give any other information regarding dacoity?

APPENDIX IIINTERVIEW GUIDE

Name .....

Date of Interview.....

Status in Gang....

Place of Interview....

GANG ORGANISATION(1) Structure of Gang:

(a) Types of Gangs .....

(b) Size of Gangs .....

(c) Functions of Gang Leader.....

(2) What are the conditions for admission into a gang?

(a) Age .....

(b) Physique.....

(c) Crime committed.....

(d) Firearms possessed.....

(e) Previous Contact with the gang.....

(3) Who may stand for surety of a new comer?

Friend/Relative/Harbourer or any other.

(4) How a neophyte learns the use of arms, techniques and strategies of brigandage?

(5) What measures are taken to maintain the loyalty of a gang member?

- (6) What are the codes of conduct for a dacoit?
- (7) What restrictions are considered important for a gang member?
- (8) Who assists in the operation strategies?
- (9) Who provides food, clothing and other essential articles?
- (10) How do you get informations about?
  - (a) Police movements.
  - (b) About kidnappee.
  - (c) Wealth or Property of a victim.
- (11) When a split into a gang takes place?
- (12) What are the main cause of a split into a gang?
- (13) What is the base of division of the looted booty?
- (14) How inter gang relations are maintained?
- (15) When and on what occasions the inter gang conflicts arise?
- (16) What precautions are taken by a gang leader for the long survival of a gang?
- (17) How do you seek police protection?
- (18) What you pay for to get the political protection?

MAJOR MASS MASSACRE

(1979-1983)

S.No.	Date	Place	District	Gang	Victimised Persons				Total Caste
					M	FM	C	Total	
1.	9.10.79	Jadhavpur	Etawah	Geetam Gadarial	2	-	-	12	Chamars
2.	13.11.79	Badanpur	Mainpuri	Chhabiram Yad.	6	-	-	6	"
3.	2.12.79	Phulrai	Etawah	Geetam	1	1	3	5	Dhobi
4.	15.10.80	Jakh	Mainpuri	Mahabira-Anarsingh	4	-	-	4	Thakur
5.	16.11.80	Babeti	Shahjahanpur	Pothi Yadav	7	-	-	7	Yadav
6.	30.1.81	Dalelpur	Mainpuri	Chhabiram	3	-	-	3	Kachhi
7.	14.2.81	Behmai	Kanpur	Phoolan	24	-	-	24	Thakur
8.	16.2.81	(Village)	Mainpuri	Anarsingh	8	-	-	8	Thakur
9.	24.2.81	Jaymai	Mainpuri	Durbeen	11	1	-	12	Yadav
10.	1.5.81	Naktai	Etah	Mahabira-Pothi	1	-	-	1	Badai
11.	1.5.81	Sevanagla	Etah	"	11	-	-	11	Chamar
12.	1.7.81	Kutaria	Banda	Khardushan	6	-	-	6	Harizan
13.	13.8.81	Jarella	Mainpuri	Bhura-Chhabibi-Ram Yadav	7	-	-	7	Lodhi Kachhi
14.	11.10.81	Ujhaini-Pakirkpur	Mainpuri	Chhabiram	7	5	-	12	Thakur
15.	18.11.81	Deoli	Mainpuri	Radhe-Santoshal	7	7	1	25	Jatav
16.	30.12.81	Sadhupur	Mainpuri	Anarsingh	10	-	-	10	Harizan
17.	21.2.82	Ballampur	Mainpuri	Bhura Yadav	2	1	1	4	Yadav
18.	7.3.82	Mahatipur	Etawah	Nekse Alias Surendra	9	-	-	9	Harizan
19.	28.4.82	Garwar	Agra	"	6	-	-	6	Thakur
20.	27.6.82	Dastampur	Kanpur	Muslim	7	1	2	10	Yadav
21.	27.6.82	Rampura	Mainpuri	Bhura	3	2	1	6	Harijan
22.	1.2.83	Kachhpuri	Etawah	Surendra	2	2	4	8	Thakur
					Total	166	20	12	198

Source: Dharmayug, Weekly, p. 15, May 30, 1982, New Delhi other daily News Papers.

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